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ABSTRACT

This document includes a student text and a teacher resource book. The student booklet provides an overview of the history of the Indian subcontinent, focuses on key events leading up to partition, and explores the origins of the conflict in Kashmir. It notes that to understand the conflict in Kashmir, people must examine the period of British colonial rule to understand why there are the countries of India and Pakistan today. The student booklet is divided into eight sections: (1) "Introduction: Behind a Conflict"; (2) "Part I: India's Early History"; (3) "Part II: From Reform to Independence; (4) "March 1946: The Moment of Decision"; (5) Positions in Brief"; (6) "Positions" (Position 1: The Cabinet Mission; Position 2: The Congress Party; Position 3: The Muslim League; Position 4: The Unionist Party; Position 5: The Sikhs Punjab); (7) "Epilogue: Partition and Beyond"; and (8) "Optional Reading: What Did Jinnah Want?" This booklet is part of a continuing series of curriculum resources on international public policy issues. The teacher resource book provides an overview of the history of the Indian subcontinent, focuses on the events leading up to partition, and explores the origins of the conflict in Kashmir. It contains a day-to-day lesson plan and student activities. The suggested lesson plan is divided into 11 sections: (1) "About the Choices Approach"; (2) "Note to Teacher"; (3) "Integrating This Unit into Your Curriculum"; (4) "Day One Understanding India's Early History"; (5) "Day Two From Reform to Independence"; (6) "Day Three Role Playing: Organization and Preparation"; (7) "Day Four Role Playing the Five Positions"; (8) "Day Five Epilogue: Partition and Beyond"; (9) "Key Terms"; (10) "Making Choices Work in Your Classroom"; and (11) "Alternative Three-Day Lesson Plan". (BT)

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Indian Independence and the Question of Pakistan
[Student Text and]
Teacher Resource Book

Choices for the 21st Century

Sarah Cleveland Fox

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Thomas J. Biersteker
Director, Watson Institute for International Studies

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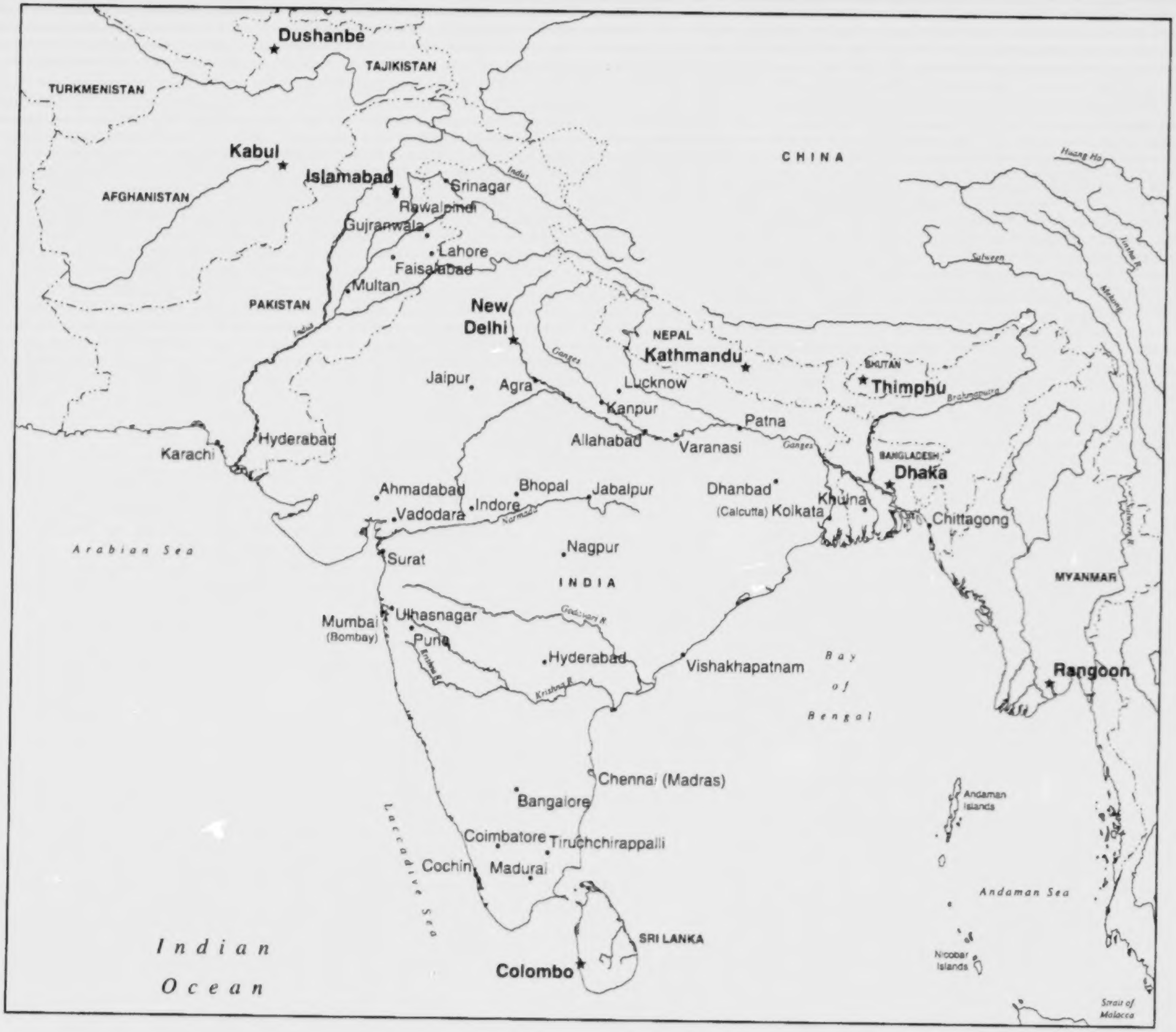
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INTRODUCTION: BEHIND A CONFLICT

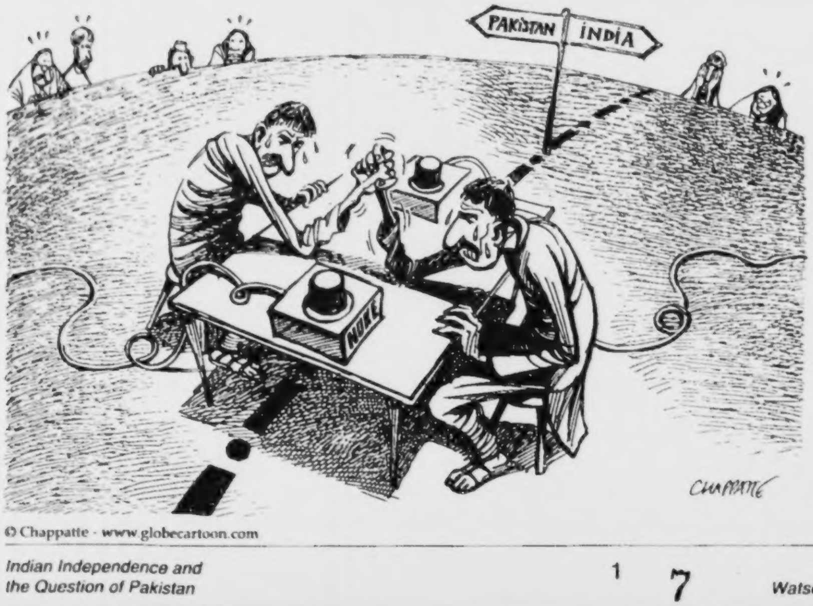
As army trucks go one way, they are met by refugees fleeing in the opposite direction. It is 2002, but it may as well be 1947, 1965, 1971, or 1999. Indian and Pakistani troops are shelling one another across the LoC—the Line of Control that separates Indian from Pakistani Kashmir. Although not as well known, it is a conflict as old and as tragic as the one between Israelis and Palestinians.

While Pakistan points to a repressive "occupying" force of Indian troops, India counters with condemnation of Muslim "terrorists" who not only attacked Kashmir's legislative assembly but infiltrated India and murdered fourteen people in the Indian Parliament in 2001. There have been as many as one million troops in Kashmir. Since 1947, more than thirty thousand soldiers have died. Today, both India and Pakistan have nuclear weapons.

And still the refugees walk down the road. One refugee, Rma Chopra, told the British news service BBC, "There have always been tense times here, but today they're talking about missiles and nuclear war as if it's a routine option. I've never felt so scared."

Fourteen year-old Anjali, whose family left its farm in December, a year after the attack on the Indian parliament, has fled her home four times during the past few years. She said wearily, "I just wish India and Pakistan could find a solution once and for all."

In order to find a solution, one must first understand how such a conflict began. To understand the conflict in Kashmir, one must first examine the period of British colonial rule to understand why there are an India and a Pakistan today.



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THE JEWEL IN THE CROWN

At its peak, the British Empire ruled lands on every continent, possessed the world's most powerful navy, and dominated the world economy. Great Britain considered India (which at the time included the lands that make up India and Pakistan today), to be one of its most prized possessions. India was often referred to as the jewel in the crown of the British Empire.

> *"...the land and the people of Hindustan [India], that most truly bright and precious gem in the crown of the Queen, the possession of which, more than that of all your Colonial dominions, has raised in power, in resource, in wealth and in authority this small island home of ours far above the level of the majority of nations and of States—has placed it on an equality with, perhaps even in a position of superiority over, every other Empire either of ancient or of modern times."*
>
> *—Lord Randolph Churchill,*
> *Speech to Parliament, 1885*

Although the British reaped tremendous economic rewards from this colony, they justified their nearly-two centuries of rule not by what they were taking, but by what they were giving to India. The British believed that their civilization, which included their religion, language, medicine, and technology (for example, the telegraph and railroads) benefited the Indian people who should, therefore, not only accept but appreciate British rule.

One aspect of British rule, its

parliamentary form of government, was not accessible to the Indian people. The entrance of Indians into the civil service was obstructed even in the twentieth century. In addition, Indians were not given a meaningful role in running either the central or provincial governments.

By the first half of the twentieth century, many groups in British India shared disaffection with British rule. Although they all wished for an end to British rule, they frequently disagreed with each other on what an end of India would look like. There were four principal groups.

What were the principal groups that wanted to end British rule?

The Congress Party: Led by Mohandas Gandhi, the goal of the Congress Party was an independent and united India, ruled through a democratic and parliamentary system similar to Great Britain's.

The Muslim League: Mohammad Ali Jinnah, leader of the Muslim League, believed that the Congress Party was really a Hindu political movement that would result in persecution of India's Muslim minority.

The Unionist Party: Not all Indians agreed with Congress or the Muslim League. In the Punjab, the Unionist Party—a coalition of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs—worked together to govern this important northern province.

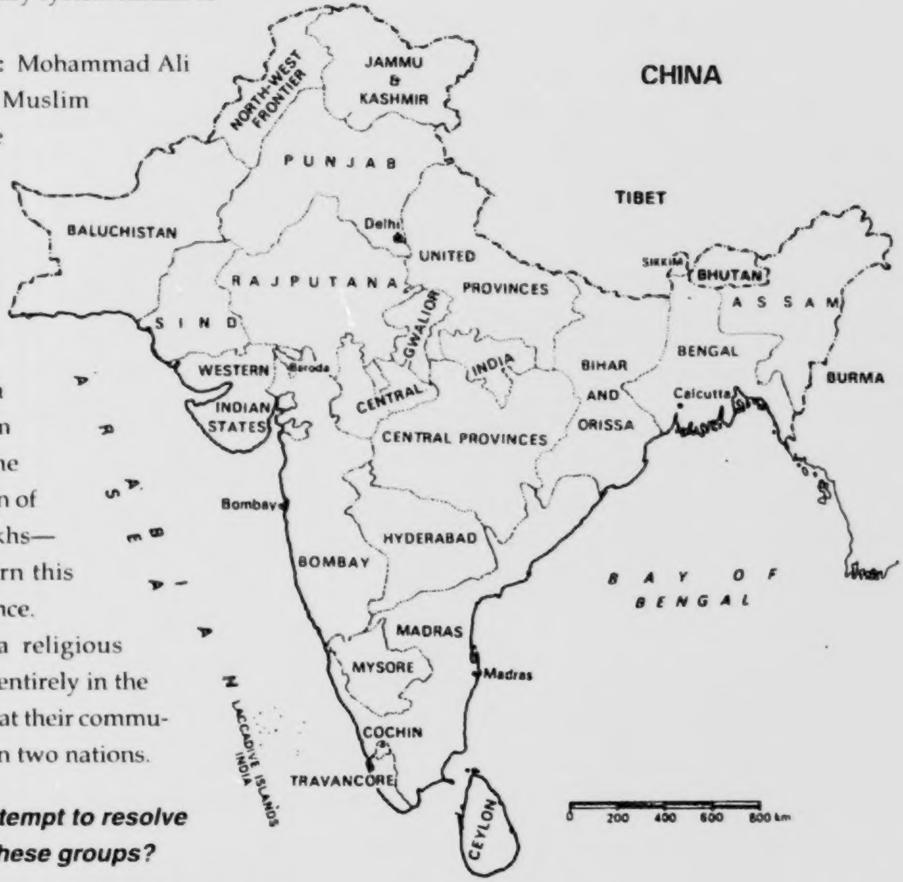
Sikhs: The Sikhs, a religious community living almost entirely in the Punjab, were concerned that their community could be split between two nations.

How did Great Britain attempt to resolve the differences among these groups?

On March 23, 1946, the Cabinet Mission arrived in India. The British government had assigned three of its members the task of working with the leaders of India's various political parties and factions to reach a consensus on how to create a free and united India.

In this unit, you will explore the difficulties surrounding independence for British India. You will first read a brief history of India, with a focus on its struggle for independence. You will learn differing opinions held by various Indian leaders. Then, representing either a British or Indian position, you will try to reach an agreement that will not only free India, but satisfy all the major parties involved. An epilogue explains what happened to India following the Cabinet Mission's return to Great Britain.

India at the Time of the Cabinet Mission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PART I: INDIA'S EARLY HISTORY

> *"Who touches India touches history."*
> — *Winston Churchill*

More than four thousand years ago, in what is now Pakistan and northwest India, Harappa and Mohenjo-daro thrived as the world's first planned cities, with streets laid in grid patterns. Residents developed a form of writing, a sophisticated sewage system, and were perhaps the first to spin and weave cotton. Although these brick-built cities were reconstructed over and over again, eventually they disappeared from history.

Later, speakers of Indo-European languages settled among the rivers of the Punjab, created a society based on the Sanskrit language, a powerful priesthood known as Brahmans, and a hierarchical social structure that later became known by the Portuguese word *caste*. They domesticated horses and cattle, and with the discovery of iron (c. 1000 B.C.E.), they began using axes to clear land and plows to grow crops.

What was Vedism?

Their religion, Vedism (sometimes known as Brahmanism) was based upon sacrifices to gods representing the natural forces of the world. Chief among these was Indra, god of war and rainstorms. This religion did not yet include a belief in reincarnation. It would take many more centuries before Vedism would evolve into Hinduism.

By the fifth century C.E. these people developed two great epics in verse. The *Mahabharata*, of which the *Bhagavad Gita* is a part, dealt with the succession of kings and with the importance of following the rules of one's *caste*. A few centuries later, the *Ramayana* told the story of the courageous and virtuous ruler, Lord Ramachandra. This great leader was actually Rama, the seventh reincarnation of the god Vishnu, who had come to free the world from evil forces. To this day, many Hindus believe that Rama's rule was the ideal Hindu state.

Over time, numerous rulers, including Alexander the Great, claimed parts of the Indian subcontinent. Most of these kingdoms were small and transitory. However, in the third century B.C.E. the Mauryas ruled probably the largest empire ever created by an Indian dynasty. Their greatest leader, Ashoka, built roads, established a large administration for collecting taxes and dispensing justice, and showed remarkable tolerance toward all religious sects. Influenced by the Buddhist faith founded two hundred years earlier in India, Ashoka spread throughout his empire the concept of *dharma*—piety and decency toward humans and animals alike.

The first five hundred years C.E. produced a golden age of literature, art, and science. Kalidasa (known in the West as the "Indian Shakespeare") wrote exceptional plays in Sanskrit, Indian astrono-

Reproduced from *Early India and Pakistan*

A vase from the ancient city of Harappa

mers calculated the length of the solar year more accurately than the Greeks, and their mathematicians introduced the concept of zero and correctly calculated pi. Trade was conducted with the Roman Empire, and the Great Silk Road connected India to China.

India always had a mysterious hold on other parts of the world. The ancient Greek historian Herodotus wrote of remarkable ants that dug gold from the ground and trees that were covered with wool (cotton). Although few Europeans besides Alexander had ventured into this Asian land, the spread of Buddhism into China had brought Chinese pilgrims, along with merchants, to India. In addition, the remarkable spread of Islam was to change the subcontinent forever.

How did the spread of Islam change the subcontinent?

In the early 700s, Muhammad ibn Qasim, cousin to the Muslim Governor of Iraq, conquered Sind in northwest India (now part of Pakistan). He placed a *jizya* on non-Muslims (tax paid in lieu of military service), but allowed Hindus and Buddhists freedom of worship. Ibn Qasim made no further inroads into India, but about three hundred years later Mahmud of Ghazni (now part of Afghanistan) raided India sixteen times, killing many but gaining little territory. A strong religious belief and the promise of great wealth motivated Muslim raiders. In about 1200, another Muslim warrior, Muhammad of Ghor (Afghanistan), invaded northern India, defeated an alliance of Hindu princes, and conquered a kingdom that included Delhi.

For the next three hundred years India was beset by more invasions by Muslims, who themselves were being pushed east by Mongol armies from Central Asia. Not only did Muslims fight Hindus; Muslims fought one another. For example, in 1398, Tamurlane's Mongols, who were Muslims, defeated

THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

For some scholars, the history of modern India begins with the Mughal Empire, which ruled through the same family for approximately 150 years. The first of the family was Babur, an invader from Central Asia. Babur (died in 1530) descended from the Mongol people (therefore the name "Mughal") and was a Muslim. Upon first entering India, he and his soldiers were disappointed. Babur complained: "no good horses, no good dogs, no grapes, musk-melons or first-rate fruits, no ice or cold water ... no colleges, no candles, no torches, and no candlesticks." However, he managed to convince his men to stay. Although his army was small, he had the advantages of firearms (matchlocks and cannon) and enemies who were constantly fighting amongst themselves. Babur and his son Humayun carved a mighty empire.

Why has Akbar been called India's greatest ruler?

Akbar, Babur's grandson, has been called India's greatest ruler. By 1600, his empire held approximately 100 million of India's 140 million people. (In contrast, England had a population of five million and all of Western Europe less than forty million.) The empire's wealth was measured not only in silver and gold but also in its crops and trade. Indian craftsmen were noted for their beautiful cotton textiles, which were in demand in other parts of Asia. (England's East India Company was founded in 1600, in part, to capitalize on this trade.)

Akbar demonstrated great tolerance toward other religions. He married Hindu princesses, who probably did not have to convert to Islam. He abolished the *jizya*, or tax on non-Muslims. Many of his highest officials were Hindu. He declared *sulahkul*, or universal tolerance. Going further, he decreed himself to be the spiritual leader of his people—giving himself the final word on religious controversies. He said, "For an empire to be ruled by one head, it is a bad thing to have the members divided among themselves...." Ironically, while these measures won him the loyalty of many Hindus, Muslim religious leaders considered their emperor to be a heretic.

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the Sultan of Delhi and destroyed much of the city. Beginning in the 1500s, the Muslim Mughal Empire ruled India for seven generations. The Mughals reformed government, encouraged artistry, and worked to unite their subjects. Nevertheless, at the local level, Hindu land controllers and clan-leaders called *zamindars* continued to exercise considerable influence.

HINDU, MUSLIM, AND SIKH

Hinduism has no single founder or historical beginning. While no single vision of Hinduism exists, the *Bhagavad Gita,* among the best-known Hindu texts, discusses the importance of following one's caste obligations. Hinduism continued to develop over centuries, further elevating the priesthood, or Brahmans, and adding rich layers of belief and ritual. One followed the rules of one's caste in order to be reborn into a higher caste and eventually find final release, or *moksha,* in Brahman. In this case, Brahman does not mean "priest" but rather the universal soul or ultimate reality.

Hindus can experience Brahman through many gods and goddesses, such as Brahma the Creator, Vishnu the Preserver, and Siva the Destroyer. Nature is worshipped, such as trees, the sun and moon. So too are animals, such as the bull that Siva rides. The cow is especially sacred. Gods can even take the form of animals as well as men. For example, Vishnu took incarnations as a fish, a tortoise, a boar, a man-lion, and a charioteer. Many Hindus, especially those of upper castes, are vegetarians.

Hinduism is filled with rituals which help people move from the outer physical reality to one of the spirit. Some rituals include the marriage ceremony, naming the child, and carrying him or her to face the rising sun for the first time. Loud music, singing, and dancing often accompany celebrations. The rich variety of gods and rituals allows Hindus great

Under Akbar's grandson, Shah Jahan, dubbed "King of the World," the Mughal Empire reached its greatest splendor. He rebuilt his capital of Delhi, giving it large thoroughfares, waterways, stone walls enclosing 6,400 acres, and the Jama Masjid — what was then the largest mosque in the world. He also built the Taj Mahal to honor his dead wife.

How did the Mughals diminish their own power?

The last great Mughal emperor, and the one who ruled the longest (1658—1707) was Shah Jahan's son, Aurangzeb. Unlike earlier Mughal rulers, Aurangzeb was a devout Muslim and quite strict in his beliefs. He appointed a censor who supervised public places to make certain there was no gambling or drinking liquor. He eliminated dancers, musicians, and artists from his court. He passed discriminatory measures against Hindus, such as restoring the *jizya,* making Hindu merchants pay heavier duties, and he destroyed newly built or rebuilt temples. He continued to make war against various opponents, often the Marathas — Hindu rulers to the south, and further extended his empire so that he governed most of the subcontinent.

The cost of these wars depleted the imperial treasury. When Aurangzeb died, his successors fought one another, further weakening royal authority. As provincial governors took on more and more authority, they became, in effect, greater rulers than their emperor. While they continued to send him a token tribute, he had lost any real power.

The empire had also been weakened by continued revolts of Hindu princes, especially the Marathas, who inhabited the rough hills of the Western Ghats. Their greatest leader, Shivaji, who lived during the time of Aurangzeb, was famous for his Robin Hood-like exploits. As one example, when a cornered Shivaji was about to surrender, instead he killed his opponent and captured the enemy army. Aurangzeb called him "the mountain rat." Just as, centuries later, Muslims looked back with pride on the achievements of the Mughal Empire, Hindu nationalists referred to the exploits of Shivaji.

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Bhaktism and Sufism

There were attempts to bring together the two seemingly irreconcilable faiths of Hinduism and Islam. The bhakti movement, at least as old as the seventh century, simplified Hinduism into the love of an individual for his or her personal god—usually Vishnu or Siva. Instead of the elaborate rituals of Hinduism, a follower of bhakti would recite his/her god's name over and over, sing hymns, wear the god's emblem, and make pilgrimages to holy places. The devotion was intensely personal.

The bhakti movement may have influenced the Sufis, Muslim mystics who believed that the soul was in exile from God and longed to return. Loving God was key. Like the bhaktis, Sufis rejected the formality of their faith.

> *"Too long the mosque and monastery have stifled you. One day at least set out at dawn and spend the day in [the] garden where red roses grow."*
>
> *Kabir (1440—1518), son of Muslim weavers, a Sufi poet*

latitude. In fact, they often welcome other faiths as simply different paths to Brahman. For example, Buddhism, which was so successful in other parts of Asia, has in many ways been absorbed into Hinduism, with Hindus believing that Buddha was a divine incarnation.

How did Muslim invaders react to Hinduism?

When the eighth-century Muslim invaders first encountered Hindus in India, their reaction was mixed. Abu Raihan al-Biruni, a Muslim scientist and historian, marveled at Hindu achievements in the arts and sciences. Regarding the reservoirs constructed at holy places, he wrote, "...our people when they see them wonder at them and are unable to describe them, much less to construct anything like them."

Yet Muslims were shocked at the religious beliefs of Hinduism. Islam is based upon strict monotheism; it is forbidden even to draw an image of God or the prophet Mohammed. Muslims found the myriad gods of Hinduism to be the worst form of idolatry. Emphasizing the equality of all believers before God, they also criticized the *caste* system and the idea of reincarnation.

For their part, many Hindus resented Muslim slaughter of cows for food. In addition, the vast majority of Indian Muslims were Hindu converts, who descended from groups that had converted to Islam for a variety of reasons. This made social relations between the two religious groups more difficult. However, Muslim rulers generally treated Hindus with great tolerance. Partly this was due to simple mathematics; Muslims were a small minority in India.

An exchange of customs was inevitable. For example, many Hindus adopted (Muslim) Persian clothing. Some would argue that Muslims were not influenced by Hindus but simply retained Hindu customs they had followed before conversion to Islam. Nevertheless, some Muslims used social distinctions similar to *caste* and adopted the Hindu practices of early marriage and opposition to widow remarriage.

What were the beliefs of the Sikhs?

Another religious leader, the Guru Nanak (1469—1539), emphasized a simple life dedicated to love of the divine name. Through this anyone could escape the cycle of rebirth. He did not accept the religious necessity for *castes* and insisted that all his followers take their meals together and lead an ethical life.

His followers, known as Sikhs (disciples), were mostly peaceful farmers. However, during the next two hundred years they were persecuted by the Mughals. Two later gurus were killed, in part, for mixing in royal Mughal politics. So were two sons of the last guru, Guru Gobind Singh; when the boys refused to convert, they were buried alive inside a city wall.

Because of these persecutions and because he believed his people should be defenders of justice, Guru Gobind Singh transformed his followers into a disciplined religious order called *Khalsa* (pure). Later the Sikhs would prove to be formidable warriors. Defeated by the British in 1846 then again in 1849, the Sikhs, along with the Gurkhas of Nepal, became the backbone of the British Indian Army.

THE BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY

After a Dutch company made tremendous profits trading with the spice islands (East Indies), eighty English merchants joined together to form the British East India Company in 1600. Timid traders compared to the Portuguese and Dutch (a Portuguese captain said they came from "an island of no import"), they strove to avoid conflict and concentrated on amassing wealth.

> *"...War and traffic [trade] are incompatible.... Let this be received as a rule, that, if you will profit, seek it at sea, and in quiet trade; for without controversy it is an error to affect garrisons and land wars in India."*
>
> *—Sir Thomas Roe, the first royal envoy to India*

In 1665 the Company gained Bombay from Portugal as part of the dowry of a Portuguese princess married to Charles II. In 1696 the Mughals allowed the Company a new settlement. It was known as Fort William and later Calcutta. Great Britain began to grow wealthy through trade.

How did wars between France and Great Britain change the East India Company?

During a series of wars between France and Great Britain, the French *Compagnie des Indes* (Company of the Indies) challenged the East India Company's position in India. The governor of the French settlements, Francois Dupleix, initially had great success by realizing two things. First, a small, well-equipped and well-trained European army could defeat a much larger but slower moving and ill-disciplined enemy. Indian armies contained as many as 100,000 people, yet most were servants or family members. Second, because the various rulers of India fought so much among themselves, a small European force could tip the victory either way. Dupleix was able to manipulate many of the local rulers in France's favor, but ultimately a brilliant young Englishman, Robert Clive, defeated the French.

Clive, who had started in the Company as a young clerk, transferred to its military and won spectacular victories against overwhelming odds at Arcot and Trichinopoly. But as great as his courage and intelligence were, his cunning may have been even more important. At the Battle of Plassey in 1757, Clive bribed the uncle of his enemy to stay out of the battle. As a result, the British won, and Clive made the uncle the new Nawab, or ruler, of Bengal and Bihar. The Nawab became Clive's puppet, giving the Company the right to collect taxes. The British drained the province of its wealth.

Why did the British government increase its role in India?

While individuals like Clive grew fabulously wealthy, the Company itself nearly went bankrupt. As a result, the British government began supervising the Company more closely. In 1773, Warren Hastings became India's first Governor-General but was advised to proceed cautiously. Although he claimed not to favor British domination of India, Hastings used military force and clever diplomacy to bring more territory, either directly or through local rulers, under British control.

Lord Wellesley, the fifth Governor-General, had quite a different view of his country's role. With the help of his younger brother Arthur (later the Duke of Wellington who defeated Napoleon), Wellesley conquered additional territory along the eastern coast and in the southern peninsula in the late 1790s.

> *"...no greater blessing can be conferred on the native inhabitants of India than the extension of British authority."*
>
> *—Lord Wellesley*

The East India Company, angered by the expenses that these campaigns incurred, recalled Wellesley to Great Britain. Future governors-general maintained the same firm control over British India, either through direct conquest or through buying the loyalty of local rulers. Eventually India encompassed eleven provinces directly ruled by the British, and 582 princely states (the latter composing one-third of India's territory and one-fourth of its population) indirectly under British control. The acquisition of India brought Great Britain vast wealth and power, making it the largest and wealthiest empire in the world.

> *"Without that empire [India] and the naval power that cemented it she [Great Britain] was but a medium-sized European country. With it, she was great among the greatest, boasting a worldwide* Pax Britannica. *Without India, the subordinate empire would be scarcely more than a string of colonial beads."*
>
> *—A.V. Hodson, advisor to the Viceroy of India*

THE MUTINY OF 1857

By the mid-nineteenth century, the British not only controlled most of the Indian subcontinent politically, they also exerted a great cultural influence. In 1813, Christian missionaries were given free access to India. A law passed in 1850 gave Christian converts from Hinduism the right to inherit their ancestral property. *Sati*, the custom by which a widow was burned to death on the funeral pyre of her dead husband, was made illegal in 1829. English became the official language for education, instead of Persian, Arabic, and Sanskrit. These policies and British arrogance angered both Muslims and Hindus, especially the religious leaders belonging to the Brahman *caste*.

> *"...a single shelf of a good European library is worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia."*
>
> *—English scholar T.B. Macaulay*

Native rulers objected to a policy under which the British government could take control of a state whose ruler either was deemed unfit or who died without a direct male heir. Under this policy, in 1856 Governor-General Dalhousie annexed Awadh (also called Oudh)—the largest, perhaps richest, and most loyal of the Indian states. In addition, Dalhousie had changed the old Mughal ruler's title from emperor to king and ordered that the king's son would inherit only the title of prince.

The Indian army, which consisted mostly of *sepoys* (native soldiers), was known for its loyalty. Yet, over the years there were incidents of unrest and small mutinies often caused by British insensitivity. In 1806 *sepoys* at Vellore killed over one hundred British soldiers when ordered not to display religious marks on their faces and to wear leather stockings and hats (leather, coming from a cow, was forbidden to Hindus). In 1824 at Barrackpore another mutiny, over the fear of traveling overseas (which Hindus believed could endanger one's *caste*) led to more deaths, executions, and the disbandment of an entire regiment.

What was the immediate cause of the 1857 mutiny?

In 1857, the new Enfield rifle was introduced to British troops. The rifle's cartridges, which were greased, had to be bitten open, then rammed down the barrel. Rumors (later determined to be true) spread through the army that the tallow used to grease the cartridges was made of cow and pig fat, the former forbidden to be eaten by Hindus, the latter by Muslims.

On April 24, at Meerut, the 3rd Light Cavalry was ordered on parade to learn the new firing drill. Eighty-five of the ninety sepoys, both Hindu and Muslim, refused to touch the cartridges unless every other regiment agreed to handle them. Two weeks later, court-martialed in front of the entire command, the eighty-five *sepoys* were stripped of their uniforms and shackled. Most were sentenced to ten years of hard labor.

Ignoring warnings by friendly *sepoys*, the British were completely surprised when a mutiny broke out the next day (Sunday, May 10). *Sepoys* killed about fifty British men, women, and children. One Englishwoman was stabbed to death, while another woman's clothes caught on fire, causing her to burn to death.

Mutineers from Meerut entered Delhi, where more of the British were massacred. These mutineers, joined by others in the city, declared their allegiance to Bahadur Shah II, the blind, eighty-two year old King of Delhi and former Mughal Emperor.

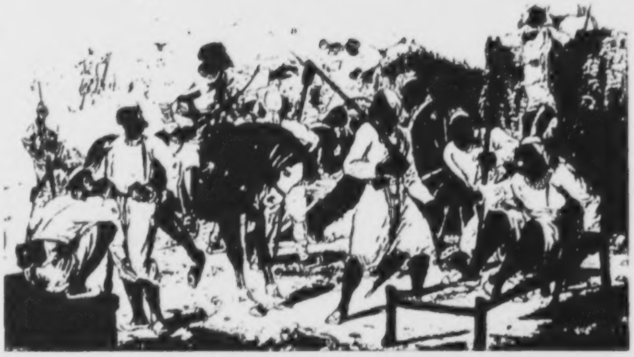
The mutiny grew into a large-scale rebellion that spread across northern and central India. *Sepoys* were joined by others who either had grievances against the British or who simply wanted to loot. At Cawnpore, a Company trading center on the Ganges River, the *sepoys* mutinied. Nana Sahib, a Hindu noble who earlier had lost a pension from the British, took leadership of the Cawnpore revolt and allowed the outnumbered British to surrender with a promise of safe conduct. However, when the British tried to reach the Ganges, they were attacked. The men were murdered, the surviving women and children taken prisoner. For several weeks they were cared for, but when a British rescue army approached, *sepoys* shot and stabbed to death the 73 women and 124 children.

> *"May all the enemies of the Faith be killed today, and the [foreigners] be destroyed root and branch."*
>
> *—Bahadur Shah II*

How did the British troops respond to the violence?

Angered by this massacre, British troops themselves murdered many townspeople. Before being hanged, condemned *sepoys* were forced to swallow beef or pork, or made to lick the bloodstained walls and floors of the house where the English women and children were massacred. In some cases, captured mutineers were strapped to the barrels of cannon and blown apart. Bahadur Shah II, the old King of Delhi whom the rebels chose as their symbolic leader, was put on trial, addressed by members of the court as *tum* (used for servants), and sentenced to exile in Rangoon (Burma), where he died in 1862.

Courtesy of the National Army Museum



A group of mutineers

Many in England were as angry with the mutineers as their countrymen in India.

> *"I wish I were Commander in Chief in India.... I should do my utmost to exterminate the Race upon whom the stain of the late cruelties rested ... to blot it out of humankind and raze it off the face of the earth."*
>
> *—Charles Dickens*

Not all Indians sided with the mutinous *sepoys*. In fact, loyal *sepoys* fought along side the British to maintain their hold on India.

Two Peoples—Two Standards

Although British and native troops fought side by side, there was little social interaction between the two peoples. In general, the British believed themselves to be superior because they were descended from Greek and Roman civilization, practiced Christianity, and, according to a British textbook, demonstrated "...a reckless devotion to great causes, an unflinching pursuit of untrodden paths."

The British expected courage from themselves, because they were vastly outnumbered by Indians and believed that they could not afford to show weakness or permit defeat. British troops did indeed show great courage in India.

> *"...you forget that you are dealing with a Briton—one of that band who never brooks an insult even from an equal, much less from a native of this land.... a Briton, even though alone amongst a thousand of your kind, shall be respected, though it brought about his death. That's how we hold the world."*
>
> *—General John Nicholson*

How common was racial discrimination?

Besides considering themselves more courageous, the British also believed themselves more intelligent than the *sepoys* they commanded. This British sense of superiority was demonstrated not only in the battlefield, but in daily life as well. In part, this superiority was due to an unwillingness to think of India as anything more than part of the empire. The British community always remained British—never Indian.

Although not stated openly, discrimination was common. At department stores, Indians would wait while Englishmen who had come in after them were served first. Even wealthy Indian families would be denied entrance into first class compartments on railroads. Socialization between the two peoples was frowned upon. For an Englishman to court or marry an Indian woman was considered a betrayal of his race. It was considered even worse for an Englishwoman to engage in such activity. In tea rooms English and Indians would usually be seated separately. In the military, British soldiers were separated from the *sepoys*.

These racial attitudes help explain why so few of the British really understood India or its native peoples. They also fueled the Indian drive for independence.

PART II: FROM REFORM TO INDEPENDENCE

> *"It is pretty much with colonies as with children; we protect and nourish them in infancy; we direct them in youth, and leave them to their own guidance in manhood; and the best conduct to be observed is to part with them on friendly terms."*
>
> *—A British journalist, 1829*

REFORM, NOT FREEDOM

The British government stated many times that in some distant future India would be deserving of freedom. And for a long time the Indian people, believing British sincerity, showed great patience. From the mid-nineteenth century, reform—not independence—was the official agenda of the British government.

How did Britain restrict the power of Indians in government?

After the conflict of 1857, the British government took control of India from the East India Company in the Government of India Act of 1858. The Viceroy (instead of a Governor-General) was directly in charge of every section of administration. His consent was necessary for every law or regulation—both central and provincial. A council, ranging from eight to twelve Indian members, was appointed by the Viceroy, but had no authority.

The India Councils Act of 1892 added more members to both the Viceroy's and provincial governors' legislative councils. These members were recommended by associations of merchants and manufacturers or by large landowners. No council member could propose legislation, call for a vote on financial matters, or even debate any important subject.

The India Councils Act of 1909 (Morley-Minto Reforms) permitted legislative councils to discuss the budget and introduce bills, but members were not allowed to embarrass the government in any way. The Viceroy could disallow any proposal without explanation. Significantly, this act recognized the concept of separate electorates for Muslims, who were allowed to elect members of their own religious faith into legislative seats reserved for them. Many Muslim leaders believed that simple democratic elections would favor the Hindu majority and give the Muslims less representation than their numbers deserved.

Identity, Religion, and the British

Throughout the world, individuals tend to have multiple and complex identities. In the United States for example, our identities can include our ethnic origin, our religion, our race, or even what sports team we cheer for or what music we listen to.

In India, under British rule, the nature of identity changed in a way that would ultimately have an important impact on the events leading to independence. In 1871, the British conducted the first all-India census which categorized Indians by their religion. Historians believe that the use of these categories created images, for both the British and Indians, of large communities united by a common definition that transcended all differences. This contributed to the development of political communities and separate electorates. Historians also connect these developments to the growth of religious reform movements among Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs. These movements sought "purer" definitions of religious indentity and often worked to remove the influences of other religions from their own practices.

Although religion grew in importance, the formation of identity remained complex. For example, many members of the Unionist party were Muslims, but they also identified themselves as Punjabis, rural leaders, and as landlords.

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What were the effects of the Government of India Act of 1919?

In 1917, the British government announced that its future policies would eventually lead to self-governing institutions for India. This announcement was made during World War I, when the British were desperately seeking Indian support for the war against Germany.

After the war, the Government of India Act of 1919 (Montagu-Chelmsford Report) increased the percentage of the adult male population who could vote. Qualifications for voting included land revenue or past or present service in the armed forces. Ten percent of the adult male population was now eligible to vote. Separate electorates were not only given to Muslims but several other groups including Anglo-Indians (Indians of partial European descent), Indian Christians, Sikhs, landlords, university members, and business leaders.

These officials represented special interest groups rather than the public at large. Within the provinces some of these elected officials actually ran health services, education, and public works. This system gave increased power to the provinces, but British officials kept the most important powers for themselves. For example, the Viceroy could not only override any decisions he did not approve of, but could pass laws by himself. He could even rule without his legislative council for up to six months.

What was the purpose of the Government of India Act of 1935?

The Government of India Act of 1935 intended to create a federation of eleven British provinces and the over five hundred Indian princely states. Once half of the Indian states agreed and the British Parliament approved, India would form a federation. The central legislature would consist of a Council of State and a House of Assembly. Seats would be allocated by separate electorates for Muslims and other groups. The Viceroy would retain supreme powers and could veto any legislation. He also could take emergency powers as he saw fit, as could the provincial governors with his approval. For the first time representatives were to be given wide responsibilities in running the day-to-day government of their provinces. In fact, in many ways these provinces would be autonomous.

Why was there opposition to a federation?

There was little chance that half of the princely states, fearful of losing their autonomy, would ever agree to such a federation. Many of the newly elected officials effectively took charge of their provincial governments. This created the suspicion among Indian nationalists that the goal of provincial autonomy was not eventual independence but rather continued dependence on Britain as the real ruler of the central government and, therefore, India.

What did the British government offer during World War II?

In 1942, during World War II, Sir Stafford Cripps, representing the British government, offered Indian leaders what they had dreamed of for so long—eventual independence. According to the plan, immediately after the war, provinces and states would send representatives to create a body that would draft a constitution. The British government would accept the constitution as long as any province or state had the right not to agree to the constitution and, therefore, not be part of the new union. In addition, the constitution would have to guarantee the rights of minorities. During the war, Great Britain would remain in charge of India's defense against Japan, although the government would welcome input from Indian leaders. The British government hoped that India would remain as part of the British Commonwealth (an organization of Great Britain and many of its former colonies), but India would then have the right to declare independence.

This plan broke down, in part, due to Great Britain's refusal to agree with the Congress Party's demand that the national government become a cabinet government (like in Great Britain) with full powers — not merely a continuation of the Viceroy's weak Executive Council. Congress also wanted an Indian to be Minister of Defense.

Although Cripps failed, he was willing to participate in one more attempt to create a free and united India. That attempt would be the Cabinet Mission of

March 1946. The Cabinet Mission would find itself working with four major groups, the Congress Party, the Muslim League, The Unionist Party, and the Sikhs. Although they all wished for an end to British rule, they frequently disagreed with each other about what an independent India would look like. Before you explore the negotiations of the Cabinet Mission, you will examine the history of the Congress Party and the Muslim League. Understanding their history and their interests will help explain the scope of the task facing the Cabinet Mission.

THE CONGRESS PARTY

In December 1885, Allan Octavian Hume, a Scotsman who had once worked for the Indian Civil Service, helped form the Indian National Congress. For the next ten years, Congress met once a year but had no permanent organization. Most members were well-to-do lawyers, journalists, or civil servants who spoke in English (the one language used throughout the country by Western-educated Indians) of the need for reform. Congress considered the India Councils Act of 1892 a victory, because Indians could now act as advisers to the Viceroy and provincial governors. One of its major goals was increased access to the Indian Civil Service. These moderates sought gradual constitutional reform within the British Empire.

Other members of Congress, however, were more radical. Their leader, B.G. Tilak, was an educational reformer and founder of the newspaper *Kesari*, which celebrated India's great past and advocated *swadeshi* (self-reliance). In 1907, Congress split over what tactics to pursue to protest the British government's division of Bengal. Tilak called upon Indians to boycott British goods and not to pay taxes. Moreover, he spoke not only of *swadeshi*, but also of *swaraj*—self rule. The next year he was sentenced to six years' imprisonment. After his conviction, riots in the streets led to sixteen deaths.

When World War I ended in 1918, the British retained the wartime Rowlatt Bills through which people could be arrested and jailed without charges or a trial. This led to protests throughout the country. On April 13, 1919, Brigadier-General Reginald Dyer ordered his troops to fire into a mass meeting held within a walled garden in the city of Amritsar in the province of Punjab. Three hundred seventy-nine people were reported killed in ten minutes, and over twelve hundred others wounded. Although Parliament forced Dyer to retire, a British newspaper started a fund in his honor that collected more than twenty-six thousand pounds (worth over one million of today's dollars) from the English public.

Who was Mohandas Gandhi?

From 1920-1922 a new leader of Congress, Mohandas Gandhi, organized additional protests. A follower of moderate Congress Party members, in his actions Gandhi more closely resembled the radical Tilak, (who died in 1920). A lawyer who had studied in Great Britain, Gandhi had made a name for himself for his work in South Africa helping the Indian community gain more rights through acts of civil

Mohandas Gandhi, referred to as the Mahatma or "Great Soul" by many, rejected western dress in favor of *Khadi* or homespun as a symbol of Indian independence from Britain.

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disobedience, which he called *satyagraha*.

Gandhi used this same approach against the British in India. Under his leadership Congress voted a policy of non-cooperation with the government. Indians returned honorary titles, parents removed their children from government schools, and people withheld taxes, refused to buy British goods, and quit government jobs.

Gandhi reached out to Muslims by lending Congress's support to the *caliphate* movement. The Ottoman Empire had been defeated in World War I by Great Britain, and Muslims in India were concerned that the *caliph*, ruler of the Ottoman Empire, would lose his religious and political power. Gandhi hoped that Hindu-Muslim unity in this movement would increase their cooperation in the drive for independence.

Satyagraha

Mohandas Gandhi spent much of his life fighting injustice through what he called *satyagraha*. In Sanskrit, "satya" means "truth" and "graha" means "to attain." *Satyagraha*, often translated as "reaching for the truth," is civil disobedience characterized by non-violent non-cooperation. For Gandhi this tactic was tied closely to the concept of *ahimsa*—non-violence (more specifically for Gandhi, the love that remains once all violence has ended within oneself).

Gandhi explained, "Satyagraha means 'holding to this truth' in every situation, no matter how fierce the storm. Because he wants nothing for himself, the true satyagrahi is not afraid of entering any conflict for the sake of those around him, without hostility, without resentment, without resorting even to violent words. Even in the face of the fiercest provocation, he never lets himself forget that he and the attacker are one. This is ahimsa, which is more than just the absence of violence; it is intense love."

Gandhi's beliefs held great appeal to his followers and have continued to influence and inspire leaders of social movements around the world.

But Gandhi did more than shift the emphasis of Congress from constitutional means to *swadeshi*. He also changed it from a small group of India's elite into a mass organization, recruiting thousands of peasants. When the protests turned violent and twenty-two policemen were burned to death by protestors in the town of Chauri Chaura, Gandhi called off this movement.

How did Gandhi and his followers protest the salt tax?

In 1930, Gandhi again led a *swadeshi* campaign. Gandhi chose to protest the salt tax because of its impact on all Indians. Salt was a British monopoly—since 1804 Indians had been prohibited from making their own. In a symbolic act of defiance, Gandhi and a group of followers walked 240 miles from Ahmadabad to Dandi on the Gujarat coast, where he lifted a handful of salt from the sea. Others marched throughout the country; in many places rents and taxes were not paid. Terrorist activities occurred as well. As a result, between sixty thousand and ninety thousand protestors were jailed, including Gandhi and the father and son Motilal and Jawaharlal Nehru. When 2,500 of Gandhi's supporters marched on the salt works at Dharasana (May 21, 1931), government troops used their *lathis* (long metal-tipped sticks) to beat the marchers mercilessly. Following Gandhi's belief in *satyagraha*, the marchers offered no resistance. One American reporter counted over three hundred protestors injured and two killed.

> *"... At times the spectacle of unresisting men being methodically bashed into a bloody pulp sickened me so much that I had to turn away. The western mind finds it difficult to grasp the idea of nonresistance."*
>
> —*Webb Miller,* The Dharasana Salt Raid

What did Gandhi blame for rising religious tensions?

In 1931 Gandhi declared that "Congress alone claims to represent the whole of India, all interests. It is no communal organization...." (By "communal",

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Gandhi meant a particular religious community, such as Hindu or Muslim.) He blamed the British for communal upheavals.

Jawaharlal Nehru also blamed the British for trying to keep Indians divided and believed the real problems of India were not communal but economic. The primary objective of Congress, according to Nehru, was simple: complete independence from Britain.

> *"There are only two forces in the country, the Congress and the government .... It is the Congress alone which is capable of fighting the government."*
>
> —*Jawaharlal Nehru*

In 1937, in elections held throughout India under the 1935 Government of India Act, Congress won a stunning victory, gaining nearly half of all seats in the provincial legislatures, including over two dozen Muslim seats. It formed provincial governments in seven of the eleven British provinces. Based on election results, Congress seemed to be the only political organization with the power to deal with the British government.

In 1942, during World War II, Gandhi began his third and final campaign. After the Cripps Mission failed, Gandhi told the British to "Quit India" and again began a protest movement, which he intended to be non-violent. All Congress members of the provincial governments quit. Strikes and boycotts spread, as did acts of violence, including sabotage against railroads and telegraphs. Gandhi and other Congress leaders were jailed for most of the duration of the war.

THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

Not all Indians agreed with the approach or the goals of the Congress Party. Many Muslims were uneasy with what they felt was the religious element of the Congress Party. Gandhi's strategies were seen by many Muslims to be Hindu-based — for example, his use of fasting and non-violent protest. More than merely pro-Hindu, the Congress Party was seen as anti-Muslim.

Increasing sectarianism led even moderate Muslim leaders to grow wary of working with Congress. Some feared that a representative democracy, like Great Britain's, would not work in India. They be-

Religious Tensions

During the latter period of British rule, many communal disturbances between Hindus and Muslims occurred. Muslims resented Hindus' loud musical processionals near mosques. Hindus were angered when cows were sacrificed at the yearly Muslim Bakr-Id festival, especially when these animals were led to slaughter through Hindu neighborhoods. In northern India during the 1880s, Hindus formed cow-protection societies. Tilak organized political festivals honoring the Hindu god Ganesh and great hero-king of the past, Shivaji. In 1915 and 1916 more rioting occurred in Bihar over cow sacrifice at the Bakr-Id festival. There were thirty-one serious riots in 1927. In the 1920s the Mahasabha, a Hindu nationalist organization, advanced a *shuddhi* movement, trying to convert Muslims back to Hinduism.

In addition, Indian writers appealing to Hindu nationalism were gaining popularity. From the 1860s to the 1880s, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, an Orthodox Brahman and member of a provincial civil service, wrote novels of historical fiction, serialized in newspapers, which glorified Hindu warriors and treated the Muslim Mughal rulers as tyrants. His novels equated Hinduism with nationalism. The song, "Bande Mataram" ("Hail to thee, Mother"), from the novel *Anandamath* (dealing with a fictional Hindu revolt against Mughal forces allied to the British), later became Congress's national anthem.

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lieved the Hindu majority would overwhelm the Muslim minority. Some also felt that Muslims had fallen behind Hindus in formal education, which was now based upon English instead of Persian. Muslims also participated far less in commerce, industry, and local government.

To protect their interests, Muslim leaders had formed the Muslim League in 1906. They urged the British government not "...to place our national interests at the mercy of an unsympathetic majority" (i.e., Hindus), but to protect their rights as a minority. In response, the India Councils Act of 1909 recognized the right of Muslims to separate electorates.

> *"It is certain that the Hindu member will have four times as many [votes] because their population will have four times as many.... [And] how can the Mahomedan (Muslim) guard his interests? It would be like a game of dice in which one man had four dice and the other only one."*
>
> *—Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, founder, University of Aligarh*

Who was Mohammed Ali Jinnah?

One of the Muslims elected to the new Imperial Legislative Council created by the 1909 India Councils Act was Mohammed Ali Jinnah. Like Gandhi, Jinnah had earned a law degree in London and, like Gandhi, he had hoped for cooperation between Hindus and Muslims. In 1916, as a member both of Congress and the Muslim League, he arranged the annual conferences of both parties to be held jointly in Lucknow. There, both parties agreed to separate electorates for Muslims and, in provinces where Muslims were in a minority, a guaranteed number of seats. The Lucknow Pact may well have been the high point of cooperation between Congress and the Muslim League.

Why did Jinnah resign from the Congress Party?

Jinnah's hopes for continued cooperation ended with Gandhi's first *swadeshi* campaign of the early 1920s. Jinnah, who believed in constitutional reform, was deeply disturbed by Gandhi's tactic of appealing to the masses. Jinnah also realized that a Hindu mass movement would not necessarily need Muslim support. Jinnah resigned from the Congress Party.

> *"I will have nothing to do with this pseudo-religious approach to politics. I part company with the Congress and Gandhi. I do not believe in working up mob hysteria."*
>
> *—Mohammed Ali Jinnah*

In 1928 at an all-parties conference, the Congress Party in the (Motilal) Nehru Report called upon Great Britain to grant India dominion status (a self-governing nation within the British Commonwealth). Now a member of the Muslim League and not the Congress Party, Jinnah offered amendments which, he believed,

Pakistan—Birth of an Idea

The 1930 annual meeting of the Muslim League could not muster the seventy-five people necessary for a quorum. Nevertheless, the meeting was historic because of the speech given by its President, Dr. Muhammad Allama Iqbal, a noted poet. While referring to an India "where we are destined to live," he called for Muslims' "centralization in a specific territory." He envisioned this Muslim state to include the Punjab, Northwest Province, Sind, and Baluchistan in northwest India.

Two years later, Choudhary Rahmat Ali, an Indian Muslim studying in England, published a pamphlet entitled "Now or Never." In it he called for a completely separate state for Muslims. Consisting of Punjab, Northwest Frontier (Afghan) Province, Kashmir, Sindh, and Baluchistan, it would be called Pakstan (later Pakistan). In another pamphlet written in 1935, Ali demanded for Muslims their "...sacred right to a separate national existence as distinct from Hindoostan [what Muslims called India minus Pakistan] .... Pakistan is not Hindoo soil nor are its people Hindoostani citizens." Few Muslim leaders, including Jinnah, paid any attention to what was referred to as a "student scheme." The results of the elections of 1937 changed all of this.

would safeguard the Muslim community. This included the maintenance of separate electorates and that one-third of the seats in the central government be reserved for Muslims (their population was approximately one-quarter of India).

The Congress Party not only refused Jinnah's amendments, but broke the 1916 Lucknow Pact by abandoning the idea of separate electorates. For Jinnah, it was the end of trying to work with the Congress Party.

How did the Muslim League react to the results of the 1937 election?

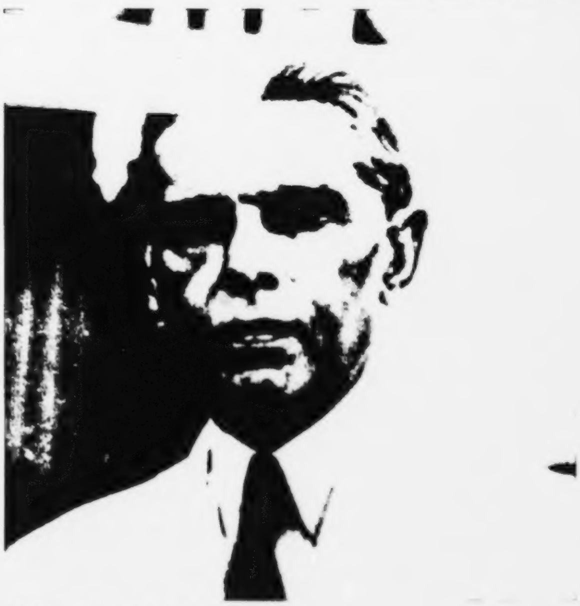
In the 1937 provincial elections, the Muslim League was astonished, not only by the Congress Party's massive victory, but also by its own poor showing against local Muslim parties. Of the 485 Muslim seats available, the League won only 108. It could not even form a government in any of the four provinces that had a Muslim popular majority. (Forming a government entails agreeing with other parties whom to appoint to various positions and how to govern.) Moreover, the Congress Party was unwilling to form any coalitions in the provinces it controlled. Led to believe that there would be a provincial coalition, Muslims in the United Provinces felt betrayed.

Congress claimed many successes in the provinces it governed. For the Muslim League this was worse than British rule. Congress flags flew everywhere, Gandhi's picture was placed in public buildings, students were given non-religious (e.g., non-Muslim) education. In addition, Congress leaders controlled local political appointments, and Nehru organized a campaign to persuade more Muslim peasants to join Congress.

How did Jinnah reorganize the Muslim League?

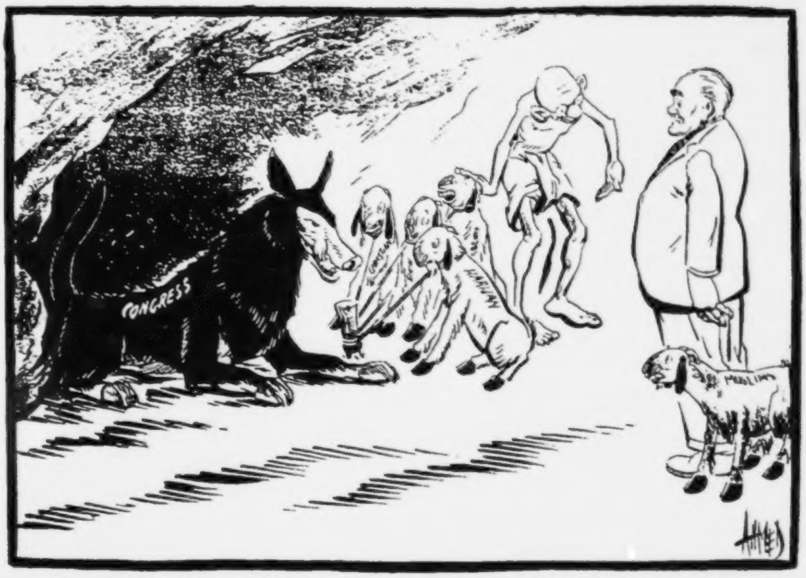
Jinnah realized that the Muslim League's poor showing in the elections was due to Muslim disunity and the Leagues own lack of organization. Borrowing a page from Gandhi's approach, the Muslim League began a mass movement campaign. One hundred seventy new branches of the party were formed. Jinnah worked with local Muslim leaders to build a more powerful political coalition. For example, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Punjab's leader — who, although a Mus-

Hulton Archive/Getty Images



Mohammed Ali Jinnah

Dawn [The Muslim League's Newspaper]



"In the eyes of Congress, Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, and Christians were all Indians and entitled to its care." —Mr. Gandhi lim, led a coalition Unionist Party—joined the Muslim League and supported Jinnah on the national level, while Jinnah left the Unionist Party alone within the Punjab. Jinnah was after something much bigger than gaining victories in the provinces.

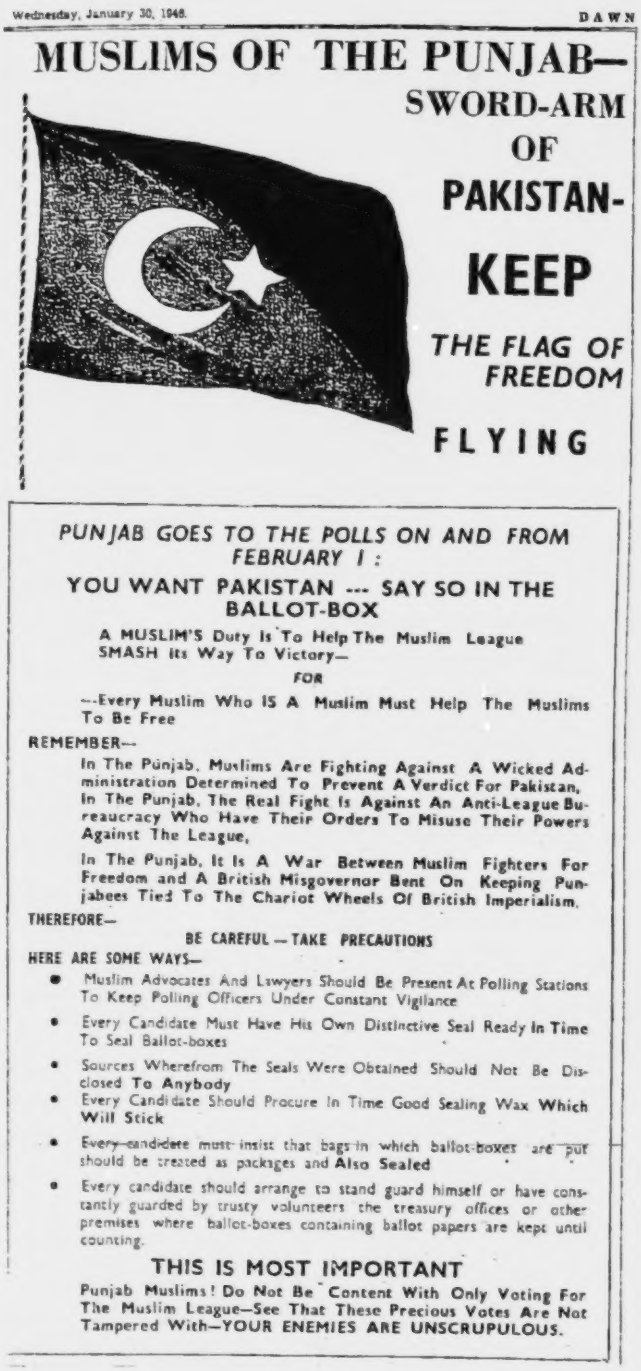
The results of the 1937 elections had revealed the weakness of the Muslim League compared to Congress. Some Muslim leaders began to advance plans to divide India into two federations, which would include voluntary transfers of population. Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, offered a plan for an Indian federation consisting of seven regions, two of which corresponded to the future Pakistan. When a British official asked Sir Sikaner why he was making this proposal, he replied that it would be better than "something worse"—that "something worse" was Pakistan.

> *"You have been long enough in Western Punjab to know the Muslims there. Surely you can see that Pakistan would be an invitation to them to cut the throat of every Hindu bania [money lender].... Pakistan would mean a massacre."*
>
> *—Sir Sikander Hyat Khan*

What was the significance of the 1940 declaration by the Muslim League?

In 1940 the Muslim League declared its belief that areas in northwest and eastern India, where Muslims formed a majority, "should be grouped to constitute Independent States in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign." The name "Pakistan" was not used, nor was it clear if the Muslim League meant one Muslim nation or two (note the plural "States"). In fact, for the next seven years Jinnah kept the borders and nature of this Muslim homeland vague.

Not all Muslims supported the Muslim League. The Shia (a minority Muslim sect) feared a Pakistan dominated by the majority sect of Sunnis. Some religious scholars believed that national unity offered a better atmosphere to protect the rights of Muslims and to maintain the presence of Islam in India. Nevertheless, Jinnah and the Muslim League focused upon Pakistan as the best hope for India's Muslims.



Wednesday, January 30, 1946. DAWN

MUSLIMS OF THE PUNJAB—
SWORD-ARM
OF
PAKISTAN-
KEEP
THE FLAG OF
FREEDOM
FLYING

PUNJAB GOES TO THE POLLS ON AND FROM FEBRUARY 1 :

YOU WANT PAKISTAN --- SAY SO IN THE BALLOT-BOX

A MUSLIM'S Duty Is To Help The Muslim League SMASH its Way To Victory—

FOR

---Every Muslim Who IS A Muslim Must Help The Muslims To Be Free

REMEMBER—

In The Punjab, Muslims Are Fighting Against A Wicked Administration Determined To Prevent A Verdict For Pakistan, In The Punjab, The Real Fight Is Against An Anti-League Bureaucracy Who Have Their Orders To Misuse Their Powers Against The League,

In The Punjab, It Is A War Between Muslim Fighters For Freedom and A British Misgovernor Bent On Keeping Punjabees Tied To The Chariot Wheels Of British Imperialism.

THEREFORE—

BE CAREFUL — TAKE PRECAUTIONS

HERE ARE SOME WAYS—

- Muslim Advocates And Lawyers Should Be Present At Polling Stations To Keep Polling Officers Under Constant Vigilance
- Every Candidate Must Have His Own Distinctive Seal Ready **In Time** To Seal Ballot-boxes
- Sources Wherefrom The Seals Were Obtained Should Not Be Disclosed **To Anybody**
- Every Candidate Should Procure In Time Good Sealing Wax **Which Will Stick**
- Every candidate must insist that bags in which ballot-boxes are put should be treated as packages and **Also Sealed**
- Every candidate should arrange to stand guard himself or have constantly guarded by trusty volunteers the treasury offices or other premises where ballot-boxes containing ballot papers are kept until counting.

THIS IS MOST IMPORTANT

Punjab Muslims! Do Not Be Content With Only Voting For The Muslim League—See That These Precious Votes Are Not Tampered With—YOUR ENEMIES ARE UNSCRUPULOUS.

During World War II, while Congress leaders were jailed and many of their followers condemned as saboteurs and rebels, the Muslim League grew stronger, carefully avoiding any appearance of disloyalty to the British in their struggle against Japan. The

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1942 Cripps Mission, which promised eventual independence to India, also agreed that any province had the right not to accept the new constitution and could actually make its own constitution. Jinnah took this statement to mean the possibility of Pakistan. Shortly after World War II ended, in September 1945, Congress promised not to force any territorial unit to remain in India against its will.

What were the results of the 1946 elections?

New elections were held in 1946. The Muslim League's platform declared "Islam in danger!", condemned Congress, and demanded Pakistan. Unlike previous elections, in which religious appeals were rarely made, the Muslim League tied one's personal faith in Islam with solidarity to a Muslim community.

While Congress gained control of all six Hindu-majority provinces, the Muslim League took every Muslim seat in the Central Legislative Assembly and 442 of 509 Muslim seats in all eleven provinces. It was only able to form provincial governments in Bengal and Sind. In the important province of Punjab, where Muslims were a majority of the population, the Muslim League had gained 75 of the 175 seats, yet was also unable to form a government.

This time there was no question regarding who represented the vast majority of India's Muslims. In determining the nature of India's independence, both the British government and Congress would have to deal with the Muslim League.

India and Great Britain: The End of World War II Brings Change

World War II greatly changed the British attitude toward the idea of India's freedom. The fear that an independent India would not pay its debt to Great Britain was no longer valid. Great Britain actually owed India over a billion pounds. Nor was the concern that there were not enough Indian military officers to take over the Indian army from the British. As a result of the war, more than fifteen thousand Indian officers were available. In addition, many British soldiers who returned home from serving in India realized how unpopular their government was among the Indian people. In Great Britain, the Labour Party under Clement Attlee defeated Winston Churchill's Conservatives and took charge of the government.

The British government in London also had new concerns. Wary of the Soviet Union encroaching into south Asia, it wanted a strong united India as a member of the British Commonwealth, working together with Great Britain and other former colonies in a defensive alliance against communism. Partition would weaken India and, therefore, threaten this defensive alliance. The British government also realized that its grip on India was slipping and that its resources were wearing thin. There was a genuine fear that if an agreement could not be fashioned among Congress, the Muslim League, and other groups, the British might face the humiliation of being driven out of India in the blaze of a civil war.

The Labour Party, already sympathetic to the idea of India's independence, faced a great deal of unrest in India. The cold winter of 1945-46 made shortages of food and clothing even worse. Many nationalist leaders, recently released from prison, gave speeches encouraging violent actions to achieve freedom. In Calcutta, demonstrations led to riots in which over thirty people were killed and several hundred injured.

As a result of all these concerns, the British finally were willing to let India go. The central question was not freedom, but what form freedom would take. This would prove terribly difficult to settle, because during the same fifty years that Indians had struggled against Great Britain, they had also struggled among themselves.

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MARCH 1946: THE MOMENT OF DECISION

On March 23, 1946, three members of the British cabinet arrived in Karachi, India. Lord Frederick William Pethick-Lawrence, Secretary of State for India; Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade; and Mr. Albert V. Alexander, First Lord of the Admiralty had been sent by their government on a special mission. These three men, who came to be known as the Cabinet Mission, had two main goals:

1. To help the Indian people reach an agreement that would establish a free and united India (hopefully within the British Commonwealth).
2. To create an interim government of Indian leaders that would assist the British Viceroy Wavell in governing India until it was granted independence.

> *"The issue of freedom and self-determination is therefore settled in principle.... Our talks will not be concerned with the question of whether India shall determine her own destiny—that is already decided—but with how she will do so."*
>
> *—Lord Frederick William Pethick-Lawrence*

In March of 1946, the three officials of the Cabinet Mission began a mission filled with difficulty. After fifty years of what Indian nationalists considered to be delaying tactics, the British government was willing to grant the Indian people their freedom. But first the Cabinet Mission had to play the role of an honest broker, gathering information from all the interested parties, following the guidelines given by its own government, and trying to develop a plan that would satisfy not only the various Indian factions, but the British government. Above all, the British government wanted these parties to agree to a plan that would recognize a united India and to cooperate in an interim government that would rule India until independence was officially granted.

Who were the principal groups the Cabinet Mission would be negotiating with?

The Congress Party: The oldest and largest Indian political organization fighting for independence was the Congress Party. Its most important official leader was Jawaharlal Nehru, but its greatest moral leader was Mohandas Gandhi. Congress claimed to be the only truly national political organization but, although supported by some Muslims and other groups, by far most of its supporters were Hindus, who counted as approximately three-quarters of India's population. Although differing in their views regarding the nature of an independent India, the leaders of Congress generally agreed that India should be a secular, democratic, parliamentary nation

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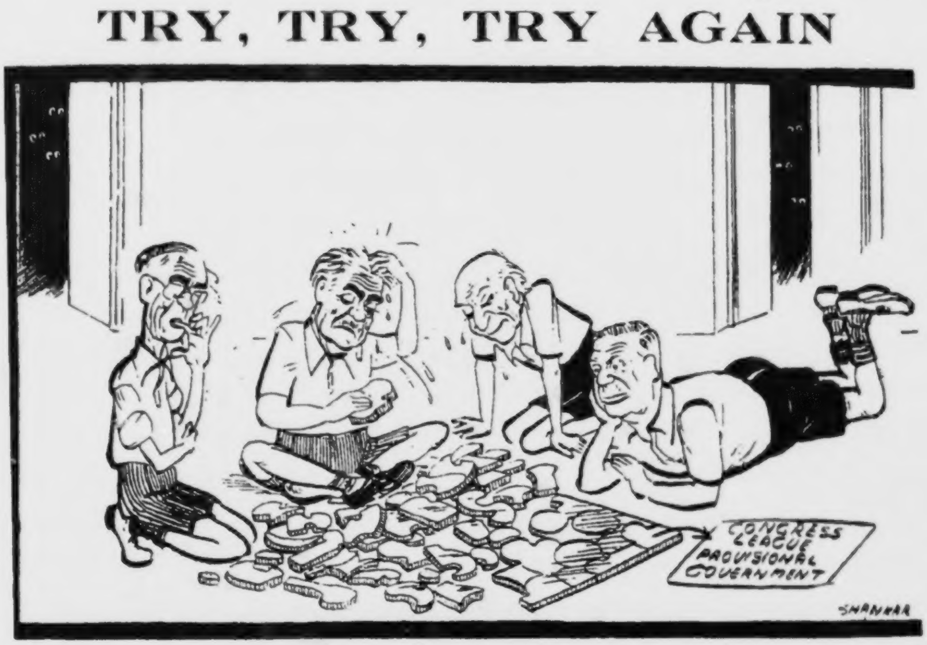

A cartoon depicts the task of the Cabinet Mission and Viceroy Wavell.

based on majority rule. Because of its overwhelming popularity among Hindus, Congress assumed that it would lead an independent India.

The Muslim League: Led by Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the Muslim League had quite a different vision of independence. Recent elections held throughout India demonstrated that the Muslim League had the overwhelming support of India's Muslims, approximately one-quarter of India's people. Because of what it believed to be a history of religious conflict between Hindus and Muslims, the Muslim League refused to accept the concept of a government based on simple majority rule. This, it argued, would lead to rule by a Hindu-dominated Congress government and the oppression of the Muslim minority. Instead, by 1946, it was calling for a separate nation stretching across the northern portion of India, where most Muslims were living. The nation they envisioned would be called Pakistan, the "Land of the Pure."

The Unionist Party: Besides Congress and the Muslim League, there were many other groups or political organizations, often with significantly different ideas. For example, the Punjab was a province in northern India that, in 1946, was ruled by the Unionist Party in a coalition that included Muslims, Hindus, and Sikhs. The Unionists, led by the wealthy Muslim landowner Khizr Tiwana, were less concerned about religious differences than they were in uniting to maintain their common agricultural interests against those Punjabis residing in the cities. Many in the Punjab were uneasy with the idea of independence, fearful that if India were partitioned, the creation of Pakistan might also mean the partition of the Punjab.

The Sikhs—Punjab: The Sikhs were especially disturbed by the thought of partition. Although less than twenty percent of the Punjab's population, they were spread throughout the province, and partition of the Punjab would inevitably lead to their political division. Echoing the demands of the Muslim League, some Sikhs were calling for their own "land of the pure"—Khalistan.

In the coming days you will have the opportunity to explore the different positions of the parties surrounding the Cabinet Mission. Each of the positions is based on the interest and goals of that particular group. Identifying these interests and values will help you better understand the forces that have shaped history since that time.

POSITIONS IN BRIEF

POSITION 1—THE CABINET MISSION

The Cabinet Mission has traveled from England for the sole purpose of helping India achieve its independence. As an honest broker, the Mission wants to give a full hearing to every interested party. It prefers that India become part of the British Commonwealth and cooperate with England defending South Asia against any Soviet encroachment. It believes that partition and the creation of Pakistan would be unwise, causing problems in the Punjab and Bengal. The creation of Pakistan would also not help those millions of Muslims left behind in India. The British plan to stay in India until an agreement is reached, although the Cabinet Mission realizes that its position would be made extremely difficult if the Congress Party launches a mass campaign that could lead to violence.

POSITION 2—THE CONGRESS PARTY

The Congress Party has, for the past twenty-five years, struggled for the freedom of India. Led by Mohandas Gandhi, Congress represents Indians of all religious faiths. The idea that Muslims are a separate nation is ridiculous; most are descendents of converted Hindus. Differences among Indians that others blame on communalism have really been caused by the British or by poverty. To solve these problems a strong central government is needed that will control defense, foreign affairs, communications, and have the power to tax. This government must be secular, democratic, and based on majority rule. The British should leave immediately, and allow Congress to negotiate in good faith with the Muslim League for a united, independent India.

POSITION 3—THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

The Muslim League has been concerned with the growing communal differences between Hindus and Muslims—differences that often lead to violence. Because of their irreconcilable religious beliefs and cultures, Hindus and Muslims are really two nations. While claiming otherwise, Congress is, in effect, a Hindu political party. The only solution to this problem is partition. However, Pakistan must be viable—including the Punjab and Bengal, especially the port of Calcutta. An independent Pakistan not only will protect Muslims within its borders; it also will protect those Muslims still residing in Hindustan (the real name of India). Only Pakistan will guarantee friendship, based upon national equality, between Hindu and Muslim.

POSITION 4—THE UNIONIST PARTY

The Unionist Party bases its political philosophy on cooperation among Hindu, Muslim, and Sikh. It currently rules the Punjab through such a coalition. Unionists have a long history of loyalty to the British government; three-fifths of the Indian army is from the Punjab. In return, the British have favored the Punjab with large irrigation systems and generous land grants to ex-soldiers. A partition of the province to create Pakistan would upset all religious groups and could lead to violence. To maintain order, the British should remain in India until a final agreement is reached. When India becomes independent, the central government should have limited authority over provinces. As much as possible, the Punjab must maintain its local autonomy.

POSITION 5—THE SIKHS—PUNJAB

Although a minority, the Sikhs call the Punjab their home. Almost all of their religious shrines are located there. Due in part to persecution by the Mughals, the Sikhs have become formidable warriors. They are the backbone of the British army. While in the past some Sikhs have supported Congress and others the Unionists, Sikhs are now united in opposing the creation of Pakistan. This could lead to placing all of the Punjab within the new Muslim nation. The Sikhs prefer a united India with a coalition of all parties. If however, there is a partition, they want the Punjab also partitioned and the creation of their own state, Khalistan, with the right to join either India or Pakistan. Sikhs will never submit to Muslim domination. They are quite willing to resist by force.

Position 1

THE CABINET MISSION

The Cabinet Mission has traveled from England for the sole purpose of helping India achieve its independence. As an honest broker, the Mission wants to give a full hearing to every interested party. It comes with no pre-conceived settlement—that is up to the Indian people themselves. Of course, the Mission would prefer India to become part of the British Commonwealth, but that will be a decision for India to make.

The Mission is interested in reaching an agreement as quickly as possible. India faces major problems, including communal disturbances, inflation, and a terrible famine in Bengal. Delays only worsen these problems. In order to reach an agreement, Congress and the Muslim League need to cooperate. The Mission will do all it can to facilitate compromise.

The Mission does have definite opinions regarding what is best for India's future. It much prefers Plan A — a united India—rather than a divided one. Plan A would allow Muslim-majority provinces to join together and give them equal representation to Hindu-majority provinces in a central government. It would also avoid the problems partition could cause in Punjab and Bengal. Pakistan as a separate nation would not end communal problems—approximately 38 percent of Pakistan's northwest area and 48 percent of its northeast area would be non-Muslim, while twenty million Muslims would be left behind in Hindustan to face 188 million non-Muslims. In addition, a weak Pakistan would have difficulty defending its northwest border, a traditional route of invasion. There is evidence of a Soviet build-up on the Afghan border and Soviet agents moving south through Persia. Regarding an interim government, the Mission believes that some form of parity between Congress and the Muslim League would be best (perhaps a cabinet of five Congress, five Muslim League, one Sikh, and one Anglo-Indian—an Indian of both European and Indian ancestry).

Although Congress would like the British army to leave before a constitution and interim government are settled, Great Britain plans to stay until an agreement is reached. Anything less would be an ignominious retreat, which would weaken Great Britain's reputation throughout the world. However, the British government realizes that it could be placed in an extremely difficult position if Congress declares another campaign of non-cooperation. In the past such campaigns have led to violence, and the British army is already stretched thin. If violence breaks out, the Indian army might not remain loyal. Four or five British divisions would be needed as reinforcements. They would be sent to India from such places as Palestine and Greece, which would weaken British authority in other parts of the world. The British military has prepared "breakdown" (emergency exit) plans in case of a general uprising, but any plan involving British withdrawal might lead to civil war and would certainly damage Great Britain's reputation. Therefore, it is imperative that the Cabinet Mission help Congress and the Muslim League reach a satisfactory agreement.

BELIEFS AND ASSUMPTIONS OF THE CABINET MISSION

1. Great Britain is acting as an honest broker, favoring neither side.

2. A united India is the best solution for all Indians. In addition, a united India would assist Great Britain more effectively in the defense of South Asia than an India divided into two nations.

3. A negotiated settlement between Congress and the Muslim League is essential. Great Britain cannot afford involvement in an uprising started by Congress.

FROM THE RECORD

Lord Pethick-Lawrence's Press Conference at New Delhi, 25 March 1946:
"The discussions now to begin are preliminary to the setting up of machinery whereby the forms under which India can realize her full independent status can be determined by Indians.... The issue of freedom and self-determination is therefore settled in principle. We have now to work out in co-operation the means by which Indians can themselves decide the form of their new institutions with the minimum of disturbance and the maximum of speed."

Meeting of Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy's Executive Council, 26 March 1946:
"For full success the Council felt that a settlement must demand the agreement of all the main elements in India's national life. Compromise was essential as between the Congress and the Muslim League. To make concessions to Congress alone would mean suppressing the Muslims. This would be an ultimate embarrassment to any settlement. The Muslims must not be allowed to veto political advance in the same way as there must be no dictation by Congress. Compromise must be found between the demand of the Congress for majority rule at the Centre and the extreme form of Pakistan as defined by the League."

Meeting of Cabinet Mission and Viceroy Wavell, 10 April 1946:
"The Viceroy said that he agreed with Sir W. Croft that both plan A and plan B were on merits unsatisfactory but that the only alternatives were (a) a strong Centre which would lead to trouble with the Muslims, or (b) full Pakistan which would lead to trouble with the Congress, which we could not face except by withdrawing into Calcutta, which would be likely to be a very disturbed place in such conditions."

Prime Minister Clement Attlee to the Cabinet Delegation, 13 April 1946:
"Scheme B will have to be accepted if the only alternative is complete failure to reach agreement and consequent chaos. But India will be confronted by grave dangers as a result of this partition; and, if Scheme B has to be adopted, every effort should be made to obtain agreement for some form of central defence council to be set up which will include not only Pakistan, Hindustan and the Indian States, but also Burma and Ceylon."

Letter from Viceroy Wavell, 24 April 1946:
"However absorbed we may be in the constitutional problems, the food situation is even more urgent. We thought we might just pull through our imminent crisis on the Washington allotment of 1,400,000 tons of wheat and 146,000 tons of rice for the first half year; and it has caused us consternation to find that this was apparently not a firm allotment, and that we are unlikely to get more than a proportion of what was promised."

Meeting of Cabinet Mission and Viceroy Wavell, 16 May 1946:
"(Commander-in-Chief) General Auchinleck said that in his opinion there was no hope of the Indian Army being kept together if one part of India separated from Hindustan. The Army was entirely integrated as between communities and even battalions were composed of mixed units. To reorganize the Army into Hindu and Muslim armies would mean a complete reorganization and he did not think any British officer would be interested in undertaking it. In his view there were only two alternatives in the circumstances envisaged. One was repression and the other was departure. He could not feel sure that the Army would remain loyal under a policy of repression."

Meeting of British Cabinet, 5 June 1946:
"The Cabinet were informed, in this connection, that there were already indications of slightly increased concentrations of Soviet troops to the north of Afghanistan; and there was also some evidence that So-

viet agents were moving southward through Persia."

Defence Committee Paper prepared for British Cabinet, 12 June 1946:
"If, however, the Indian armed forces did not remain loyal we are informed by the local authorities that we would be faced with the necessity of providing five British divisions for India, with the consequent abandonment of commitments in other areas hitherto regarded as inescapable, serious effects on our import and export programmes and world-wide repercussions on the release scheme. The only alternative to this would be the ignominious withdrawal from the whole of India."

From a speech to Parliament given by Sir Stafford Cripps, July 1946:
"The difficulty arises, not from anyone's underestimate of the importance of the Sikh community, but from the inescapable geographical facts of the situation ...it will be seen that what they demand is some special treatment analogous to that given to the Muslims. The Sikhs, however, are a much smaller community, five and one-half as against ninety millions, and, moreover, are not geographically situated so that any area as yet devised—I do not put it out of possibility in the future—can be carved out in which they would find themselves a majority."

Position
2

THE CONGRESS PARTY

For the past twenty-five years, under the inspired leadership of Mohandas Gandhi, the Congress Party has struggled for the freedom of India. It is the only party that is truly national in scope, having as members Indians from all backgrounds, including Muslims. In fact, for the past seven years, the President of Congress has been Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, a Muslim scholar. The idea that Congress is a Hindu party is ridiculous. Congress stands for a secular, democratic government, similar to what Great Britain enjoys. As such, it believes in majority rule and opposes communal voting and separate electorates, which are undemocratic. Minority rights must be respected. To claim that India is two nations is to misunderstand its history. The vast majority of Indian Muslims are descended from those who converted from Hinduism. Is Gandhi's own son, who converted to Islam, no longer an Indian? If two nations were created, what of those minorities left behind—would Muslims living in India or Hindus in Pakistan be non-citizens? This is obviously absurd. As Gandhi has said, the creation of Pakistan would mean the "vivisection" of India—a horrible tragedy.

The so-called communal problems between Hindus and Muslims, to which the Muslim League constantly refers, are vastly overstated. In general, Hindus and Muslims get along well; for centuries they have lived side-by-side. Communal disturbances are more likely the fault of the British, who historically have used the concept of divide-and-conquer to keep Indians from uniting against foreign rule. The real problem of India is not communal but rather economic and linked to poverty. To solve these economic problems, a strong central government is needed. Besides defense, foreign affairs, and communications—a central government needs some control of finances (perhaps taxation) and the ability to act in emergency situations. In addition, the Indian states, despotisms that do not allow their subjects democratic rights, should not be allowed to remain independent but should come under the control of the central government.

As to an interim government, Congress regards the British as an army of occupation and would prefer it to leave immediately and let the Indian people work out their government by themselves. Since this is unlikely to happen, Congress believes that the interim government should function with real power and authority, like the British cabinet. Congress opposes the idea of parity with the Muslim League. Representing so much more of the population, Congress deserves more members in the government. In addition, the Muslim League has stated that the only Muslims able to join the government must come from the Muslim League. This is intolerable. The Muslim League has no right to tell Congress whom it may nominate.

While Congress is willing to negotiate in good faith with the Muslim League, it looks forward, not only to independence, but to a national government strong enough to meet the needs of all its people. It is growing impatient and will not wait much longer.

BELIEFS AND ASSUMPTIONS OF THE CONGRESS PARTY

1. Congress is the only truly national political party in India. It is secular and democratic and would establish that type of national government, making sure that minority rights are protected.

2. "Pakistan" is a terrible idea. It is founded on an ill-conceived "two-nation" theory that has no basis in history. It would be a terrible tragedy for all Indians.

3. India needs a strong national government. While Congress is willing to discuss the idea of federation, the central government must have enough real powers to function effectively.

FROM THE RECORD

Summary of Maulana Azad's (President of Congress) comments to Cabinet Mission, 3 April 1946:
"Congress feels great difficulty with regard to the Provinces which are claimed by the Muslim League to be parts of the so-called Pakistan. In Bengal there is a large Hindu population in the west while in the Eastern Punjab there is a Hindu-Sikh majority. On the principle of self-determination these areas cannot be in a Muslim State, but if they are taken away what is left is not sufficient for separate existence....It is perfectly true that the feelings that have been raised among the vast bulk of Muslims today in respect of Hindu-Muslim differences have affected a large body of the Muslims and they have talked everywhere on Pakistan without understanding what it means. According to Mr. Jinnah a Muslim resident in Hindustan would be an alien. His (Mr. Azad's) own honest and sincere view was that the kind of Pakistan they were talking about would be injurious and harmful and do the Muslims no good. A reduced Pakistan would not be adequate to maintain itself. Further, a large Muslim population in other parts of India will, by the creation of Pakistan, be left under a purely Hindu Raj."

Summary of Mohandas Gandhi's comments to Cabinet Mission, 3 April 1946:
"Mr. Jinnah had never in concrete terms given a definition of Pakistan. His Pakistan was a sin which he (Mr. Gandhi) would not commit....

"The two nation theory is far more dangerous. The Muslim population is a population of converts—only a microscopic minority are not. They are all descendents of Indian-born people. Jinnah is sincere but his logic is utterly at fault especially as a kind of mania possesses him.... He (Gandhi) asked Jinnah whether his own (Gandhi's) son who had gone over to the Muslim religion changed his nationality by doing so."

Letter from Maulana Azad to Lord Pethick-Lawrence, 27 April 1946:
"The Congress has never accepted the division of India into predominantly Hindu and predominantly Muslim Provinces. It however recognizes that there may be Provinces which are willing to delegate to the Central Government subjects in the optional list, while others may agree to delegate only compulsory subjects like Foreign Affairs, Defence, and Communications.

"The Congress has agreed that residuary powers are to vest in the Provinces, but the use of the word 'sovereign' in that connection would tend to cause misunderstanding. I would, therefore, request that the word may be taken out."

Letter from Maulana Azad to Lord Pethick-Lawrence, 28 April 1946:
"As you are aware, we have envisaged a Federal Union of autonomous units. Such a Federal Union must of necessity deal with certain essential subjects of which defence and its allied subjects are the most important. It must be organic and must have both an executive and legislative machinery as well as the finance relating to these subjects and the power to raise revenues for these purposes in its own right. Without these functions and powers it would be weak and disjointed and defence and progress in general would suffer."

Letter from Maulana Azad to Lord Pethick-Lawrence, 6 May 1946:
"...the basic issue before us was that of Indian independence and the consequent withdrawal of the British army from India, for there can be no independence so long as there is a foreign army on Indian soil. We stand for the independence of the whole of India now and not in the distant or near future. Other matters are subsidiary to this and can be fitly discussed and decided by the Constituent Assembly."

Letter from Mohandas Gandhi to Sir Stafford Cripps, 8 May 1946:
"As to merits, the difficulty about parity between six Hindu majority Provinces and the five Muslim majority Provinces is insurmountable. The Muslim majority Provinces represent over nine crores [one crore equals ten million] of the population as against over nineteen crores of the Hindu majority Provinces. This is really worse than Pakistan."

Position
3

THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

Since Islam appeared in India over four hundred years ago, two completely different cultures have emerged. Hinduism, the religion of India's majority, is an exclusive society based upon the *caste* system. Hindus worship many gods, even cows. On the other hand, Muslims are democratic by nature—each Muslim is brother to his fellow Muslim — and strictly monotheistic. These differences would be more easily discernible were it not for the British holding India as one colony. As it is, India's history is filled with communal violence. Because of this, in 1906 Muslim leaders formed the Muslim League and asked Great Britain for communal safeguards, such as separate electorates. Under Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the Muslim League tried to work with Congress, as shown by the Lucknow Pact of 1916. Unfortunately, Congress turned its back on these communal protections with the Nehru Report of 1928.

This is not surprising since Congress, despite its claim to be secular, is clearly a Hindu party. In their campaigns of mass protest, both Tilak and Gandhi made constant references to their religious beliefs. When Congress finally achieved power in several provinces after the 1937 elections, its party anthem, an ode to Hindu goddesses, was to be sung by all school children, Muslims included. Muslims need Pakistan to avoid Hindu domination. Muslims living in Hindu areas, with no chance of being part of Pakistan, are even more supportive of a Muslim nation than those living in majority areas. These minority Muslims know that their rights in Hindustan will be better protected, because Hindus would fear what might happen, in case of trouble, to the Hindu minority in Pakistan.

Creating Pakistan from only Muslim-majority areas may not be enough to make the new nation viable. The Cabinet Mission's Plan B is unacceptable. The Muslim League rejects what Jinnah calls a "moth-eaten" Pakistan—shorn of parts of the Punjab and Bengal, especially Calcutta. The Muslim League will give the Sikhs in Punjab every consideration in Pakistan but not a communal veto. The Muslim League might be willing to discuss the Cabinet Mission's Plan A. However, the central constitution should deal only with defense, foreign affairs, and communications. The central government should not be allowed the power of taxation but could only request money from groups or provinces. No important communal decision could be taken without the agreement of both major communal groups.

Regarding the interim government, parity between Congress and the Muslim League is necessary (perhaps a cabinet of five Congress, five Muslim League, and one Sikh). The only Muslims participating in the government should be chosen by the Muslim League. Congress Muslims are merely "window dressing" and traitors. Ideally, the Cabinet Mission and Congress will see the wisdom in the creation of two equally independent and sovereign nations—Hindustan and Pakistan. Only that will solve the grave communal problems that plague India.

BELIEFS AND ASSUMPTIONS OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

1. Hindus and Muslims are two separate nations. There will always be communal violence if these two peoples are forced to live together.

2. The only real hope for Muslims is Pakistan. However, for Pakistan to survive, it must include some areas where non-Muslims form a majority.

3. If the Muslim League is to discuss anything less than an independent Pakistan, the proposal must include a weak central government, communal safeguards, and the opportunity in the future to establish Pakistan.

FROM THE RECORD

Summary of M.A. Jinnah's comments to the Cabinet Mission, 4 April 1946:
"Nowadays we talk of British India and say that India is one. Mr. Jinnah considered that that could not stand examination for a moment. India is really many and is held by the British as one.... The Muslims have a different conception of life from the Hindus. They admire different qualities in their heroes; they have a different culture based on Arabic and Persian instead of on Sanskrit origins. Their social customs are entirely different. A Hindu will wash his hands after shaking hands with a Muslim. No Hindu will let Mr. Jinnah have a room in his building. Hindu society and philosophy are the most exclusive in the world. Muslims and Hindus have been side by side in India for a thousand years but if you go into any Indian city you will see separate Hindu and Muslim quarters.... How are you to put 100 Muslims together with 250 millions whose way of life is so different? No Government can ever work on such a basis and if this is forced upon India it must lead us to disaster."

Summary of H.S. Suhrawardy's (Chief Minister of Bengal and member of Muslim League) comments to the Cabinet Mission, 8 April 1946:
"His impression of the last election was that the Muslims were determined to have Pakistan. They felt that their whole existence depended on it. In it they would be able to live as a nation in peace and honour. If they did not get it, there would be endless bickering. The Hindus would use their power to oppress and emasculate them. There was an intense feeling among the masses that their whole future depended on the creation of Pakistan, and only through it could their economic uplift be secured. The issue had gone far beyond the stage of slogans and statements, and was not a mere bargaining counter. This view referred also to the areas in Bombay and Madras and elsewhere in which Muslims were in the minority....
... unless a Pakistan State in which Muslims were in a majority was created, the Muslims in the minority Provinces would be ground down. They would like to feel that there was somewhere to which they could go in the last resort."

Summary of Mohammad Ismail's (President of the United Provinces Muslim League) comments to the Cabinet Mission, 8 April 1946:
"The Hindu outlook on life was based on exclusiveness and was thus fundamentally different from that of the Muslims, which was based on the principle that all men are equal. There was a greater difference between Hindus and Muslims than between Dutch and Belgians, yet nowadays no one expected the two latter to join up in a single state."

Summary of M.A. Jinnah's comments to Cabinet Mission, 16 April 1946:
"Mr. Jinnah expressed doubts as to whether this arrangement (two federations) would work in practice. Matters would have to be decided every day in regard to defence. From what had been said he had not been able to get anything which would enable him to say that the Union idea was worth considering.... Mr. Jinnah said that no amount of equality provided on paper was going to work. Equality could not exist between the majority and minority with the same Governmental system....

"Mr. Jinnah said that once the principle of Pakistan was conceded the question of territory of Pakistan could be discussed. His claim was for the six Provinces but he was willing to discuss the area.Mr. Alexander asked whether he rightly understood Mr. Jinnah to say that if Congress would make a proposition on the basis of the first of the two alternatives [Plan A] he would be prepared to discuss it.

"Mr. Jinnah said he was ready to do anything that did not prevent Pakistan from being, in the Delegation's [Cabinet Mission] own word, a 'viable' State economically, strategically and politically but on that he must insist. The Lahore Resolution contemplated a transitional period. He must tell the Delegation that the only way in which there could be a peaceful transference of power was that defence should remain in the interim period under British control."

Memorandum by Sir Stafford Cripps, 18 April 1946:
"It is admitted by the Muslim League that a Pakistan confined to the Muslim majority areas alone—that is to say, excluding the Eastern Punjab, all Assam, except the district of Sylhet, and Western Bengal including Calcutta—would not be viable and would therefore be impracticable."

Summary of M.A. Jinnah's comments to Sir Stafford Cripps, 18 April 1946:
"Mr. Jinnah agreed that there would have to be a common foreign policy and defence policy and said that force of events would lead to it in any case. He was, however, firmly opposed to any Legislature or Executive even on the basis of equal representation."

Summary of M.A. Jinnah's comments to the Cabinet Mission, 26 April 1946:
"Mr. Jinnah had said that Plan B was definitely unacceptable. He was prepared, however, to consider Plan A if the Congress was prepared to consider it...."

Position
4

The Unionist Party

The Punjab province in northern India is noted for its rural nature and agricultural wealth. For centuries local landowners, who often cooperated with one another to maintain power, have dominated it. These rural power holders supported the British in the Great Mutiny of 1857. In return, the British supported the landowners—passing laws that protected their property and influence from city dwellers. The British have also helped to create large irrigation systems, which has led to the commercialization of wheat, cotton, and sugar. They also gave generous land grants to ex-soldiers. All this created a strong bond of loyalty between the British and Punjabi landowners. In World War I, for example, three-fifths of the Indian army was recruited from the Punjab.

Another characteristic of Punjab society has been the peaceful coexistence of Muslim, Hindu, and Sikh communities. Although western Punjab is mostly Muslim and the eastern portion Hindu and Sikh, it is common for the same family to have branches among all three religious groups. Muslims total 16.2 million people; there are 12.2 million others. Traditionally, politics have tended to be based on consensus. The Unionist Party follows this philosophy of consensus. Its leadership comes from wealthy landowners, its members are farmers from throughout the province, and its supporters are rural religious leaders. Sir Chhotu Ram organized the great agricultural caste of Jats (Hindus, Muslim, and Sikhs) on an economic, non-sectarian basis, to support the Unionists, who won the 1937 provincial election. The Congress Party has refused to form coalitions in their provinces; the Unionist Party is a coalition. It has been successful in creating additional irrigation systems and developing a system of rural libraries. When World War II broke out, it supported the British whole-heartedly.

Since the end of the war, inflation, rationing, and shortages have hampered the Unionist Party. The Muslim League has capitalized on people's dissatisfaction, appealed to the panacea of "Pakistan," and won the elections, gaining 75 of the 175 legislative seats. However, because of its communal nature, it could not form a majority government. In contrast, the Unionist Party, with only eighteen seats, has formed a government—with the help of Congress and the Sikhs.

The Unionist Party (and its leader, the wealthy Muslim landowner Khizr Tiwana), adamantly opposes any settlement that means the partition of Punjab. If the whole of Punjab enters Pakistan, most Muslims will be pleased. However a partition will upset those Muslims not included in Pakistan. Khizr also believes that Muslims from various parts of India might not get along in Pakistan (due to different languages, etc.). In addition, separation from India will mean that Punjabis could no longer enter the Indian army, which will greatly hurt the provincial economy. Some Unionists may secretly want the British to stay, but if India does become independent, they would want their province to be free of any domination by the center. To maintain law and order, the British should remain in India at least until a final agreement is reached. The Unionist Party and it leader, Khizr Tiwana, are not in a strong position to negotiate. However, he and his party are confident that the British will not betray their most loyal friends in India. The Punjab should remain whole and, as much as possible, keep its local autonomy.

BELIEFS AND ASSUMPTIONS OF THE UNIONIST PARTY

1. The Punjab has traditionally been a society based on the cooperation of three religious groups. This cooperation has been the basis of the Unionist Party and, in the past, led to its greatest successes. This cooperation has also reduced communal tensions.
2. The Punjab has benefited greatly from its association with Great Britain. Its loyalty will certainly be recognized by the British in their negotiations with Congress and the Muslim League.
3. The best future for the Punjab is to remain close to the status quo. That includes an intact province with as much local autonomy as possible.

FROM THE RECORD

Sir Khizr Tiwana's conversation with Jinnah (no date):
"On one occasion he (Khizr, a Muslim) reputedly retorted to Jinnah, 'There are Hindu and Sikh Tiwanas who are my relatives. I go to their weddings and other ceremonies. How can I possibly regard them as coming from another nation?'"

Sir Khizr Tiwana's memorial on the death of Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, 1942:
"The best way to perpetuate the memory of the departed leader is to continue the work which was dear to (his) heart, namely protection of communal harmony and unconditional support for the prosecution of the war."

Press release announcing an end to the Jinnah-Sikander Pact, April 1944:
"Khizr concluded his statement with a warning that, 'the disunity of different communities could only spell disaster.'"

From the tract, Helpless Peasant, *by Sir Chhotu Ram (no date):*
"Leave religion to the four corners of the [Hindu] temple, the [Muslim] mosque, and the [Sikh] Gurdwara. Release yourselves from the bondage of the Maulvis, the Pandits and the Granthis [all religious leaders]. Do whatever you feel in observing your religious tenets but keep it strictly outside politics."

Summary of a meeting between Sir Khizr Tiwana and Cabinet Mission, 5 April 1946:
"Sir Stafford Cripps inquired what would be the effect on the Punjab if it were agreed, or decided in default of agreement, to establish Pakistan. Sir Khizr replied that this depended on what basis the new State were to be set up. If it included the whole of the Province as it now existed, the Muslims would be very pleased. If, however, the two and a half divisions with non-Muslim majorities were to be excluded from Pakistan, when the Muslims in this area came to realize their fate and when the Muslims of the Province as a whole came to realize what benefits in the way of military pensions, etc., they had lost, a reaction would probably set in. If Mr. Jinnah had been required at an earlier stage to define Pakistan, and if its financial and other implications had been worked out, perhaps the demand for it would not have been so strong....

"If there were to be any all-India central Government at all, it should be a weak one. He did not like to specify what subjects should be entrusted to the Centre, but admitted that they would probably have to include foreign affairs, defence and communications.... He admitted that ... the British would have to stay on in India until some agreement were reached. No patriotic India wanted anything but full self-government, but if law and order were to be preserved, independence could only come on the basis of agreement between communities."

Comments by M.R. Jayakar (former Judge, Federal Court of India) to Cabinet Mission, 11 April 1946:
"To illustrate the absurdity of the two-nation theory, he gave the example of Mr. Gandhi, who is Hindu, and his son who is a Muslim convert. How could they belong to two different nationalities? The idea was grotesque. A Punjab Muslim had more in common with a Punjab Hindu, than a Punjab Muslim and a Madras Muslim."

From a letter by Sir E. Jenkins (new Governor of Punjab) to Viceroy Wavell, 15 April 1946:
"The Ministers are not a happy team. Khizr, who (to quote one of his friends) is now 'a General without an Army", ... makes no secret of his opinion that our difficulties are of are own making, and that the Pakistan issue would never have arisen in its present shape if moderate politicians like himself had been given the support they deserved.... Khizr himself continues in public to say that he believes in Pakistan, and that the Unionists are a purely provincial party—so one wonders how much 'support' would have been needed for his purposes."

Position

5

THE SIKHS—PUNJAB

The Sikhs are a small minority within India and even a minority in the Punjab (where there are four to five million Sikhs out of approximately twenty-eight million people). Almost all Sikhs call Punjab their home and almost all of their religious shrines are located there. The Sikhs began their history as a peaceful people devoted to their religion. While still religious, they have learned over the centuries the necessity of defending themselves. Persecuted by the Muslims of the Mughal Empire, they became fierce warriors. They helped to save the British in the 1857 Mutiny. Since that time Sikh soldiers have been the backbone of the Indian army.

The Muslim desire to make politics communal disturbs the Sikhs. The 1916 Lucknow Pact, which gave Muslims separate electorates and reserved seats, totally ignored the Sikhs. In 1928, while Jinnah was again pushing Congress to maintain communal protections for Muslims, Sikh leaders were denouncing the use of ***caste*** or religion to determine in any way the form of national government. As a result of the 1937 elections, the Sikhs split their support. The Khalsa National Party joined the Unionist coalition to run the Punjab government and supported the British. Other Sikhs have supported Congress. The Unionist Party's leader, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, took Baldev Singh, a prominent Sikh industrialist, into his coalition government. However, promises made to the Sikhs were not kept.

In 1940, Jinnah and the Muslim League began to call for the creation of the sovereign state of Pakistan. Sikhs feared that this would mean either the partition of Punjab or, even worse, the entire province forced under the rule of a Muslim nation. In 1943, Master Tara Singh suggested that Muslim districts in the Punjab be separated, and the rest of the Punjab become a new state where no community would hold the majority.

The Sikhs maintain their preference for a united India with a coalition of all parties. In such a case, Sikhs would have some power. If Pakistan were created, the Sikhs would be forced under the tyranny of either Hindu India or Muslim Pakistan. They would prefer an independent state, called Khalistan, with the right to join either of the two larger ones. The majority of Sikhs are located in the eastern part of the Punjab; those in the west might be willing to migrate eastward. Sikhs and Muslims have never been friendly, and Sikhs would not submit willingly to Muslim rule and perpetual Muslim domination.

The Sikhs are willing to serve in an interim government. However, Sikhs wonder why Hindus and Muslims each would be given the right to decide as a community on communal issues (a communal veto), but Sikhs are not given the same protection. The Sikhs have been extraordinarily patient while larger groups are discussing their fate. However, the Sikhs' warrior reputation is well founded. They will resist, by force if necessary, subjugation by Pakistan or any communal group.

BELIEFS AND ASSUMPTIONS OF THE SIKHS:

1. The Sikhs in the Punjab have been most comfortable in a situation where no one community has an absolute majority. In such a situation, their relatively small numbers still can translate into political power.

2. The creation of Pakistan would have a terrible effect on the Sikh community. Sikhs either would fall under Muslim domination if Pakistan claimed the entire Punjab or, if the province were split, be subject to either Hindu or Muslim authority.

3. If the major parties do not seriously consider the Sikh position, Sikhs are not afraid to resist by force.

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FROM THE RECORD

From a letter by Master Tara Singh to Prime Minister Attlee, 23 October 1945:
"The cry of Pakistan is being raised more and more loudly by Muslim Leaguers who openly assert that, in accordance with the Cripps Offer (of 1942), the whole of the Punjab as constituted today will be liable to separation from the Indian Union if there is a bare majority in favor of such separation. The Muslim population in the Province is about 56 percent. Non-Muslims, especially Sikhs, are quite determined to resist—if necessary, by force of arms—being included in Pakistan, or being put under any sort of communal domination.... I most earnestly request ... that efforts will be made to meet the Sikh demand of having an effective voice in the Government of the Province which is their homeland."

Summary of comments by Master Tara Singh to the Cabinet Mission, 5 April 1946:
"Master Tara Singh said that he stood for a united India and for some sort of Coalition Government of all communities otherwise he thought that there may be trouble. To divide India would be a very troublesome course and a risky game. If there were a division, the Sikhs could not, in his opinion, remain either in Hindustan or Pakistan....in view of the communal position prevailing in India the Sikhs would be bound to be under either the Muslims or the Hindus if there were two States. The Muslims and Hindus were not united and would remain antagonistic for some time. In that situation the Sikhs in a united India would have some bargaining power but if there were division of India they would be under the majority of one community or the other. In that case, therefore, he wanted a separate independent State with the right to federate either with Hindustan or Pakistan."

Summary of comments by Sardar Baldev Singh to the Cabinet Mission, 5 April 1946:
"The Viceroy ... enquired what would happen to the Sikhs if Mr. Jinnah's idea of division of the Punjab was carried out. Sardar Baldev Singh replied that the Sikhs would then not be able to live. Mr. Jinnah had said that numbers alone do not count; what did count in the Sardar's view was the political importance of community, and in that respect he felt that the Sikh position was deteriorating.... He thought that if a solution were found by dividing the Province, a transfer of population designed to increase the Sikh proportion would be feasible. He had, so far, had no contacts with the Sikh states, but thought they would come into a federation.... The Viceroy enquired what would be the position of the Sikhs in the Army if India were divided. Sardar Baldev Singh replied that Sikhs in the Pakistan Army would not feel secure. The Muslims and the Sikhs have never been friendly, and though it would be impracticable to exclude Sikhs from the Pakistan forces, no reliable army could be based on a divided India. He reiterated his view that a single India with safeguards for minorities was the solution."

From a letter by Governor Jenkins (Punjab) to Viceroy Wavell, 15 April 1946:
"Master Tara Singh saw me on his return from Delhi, and seemed really concerned at the approaching departure of the British. He demanded either Khalistan [a name given to a proposed Sikh state], with transfers of population, or a new State stretching from the Jumna to the Chenab, in which he said the Sikhs would not be oppressed.... The comparative calm of the Punjab at the moment is certainly deceptive."

From a letter by Gyani Kartar Singh (leader of Alkali Party, associate with Master Tara Singh) to the Cabinet Mission, 28 April 1946:
"...the question of North-West Pakistan is not a League-Congress affair to the extent to which it is a Sikh-Muslim one."

EPILOGUE: PARTITION AND BEYOND

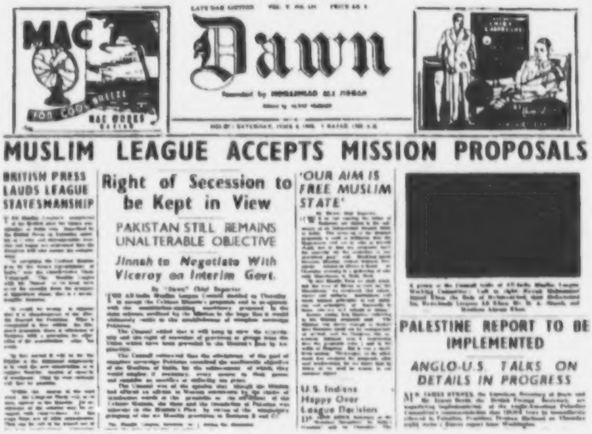
Both Congress and the Muslim League rejected the Cabinet Mission's plans. In response, the Cabinet Mission issued another plan on May 16, 1946. Hoping to keep India united, the Cabinet Mission proposed a "three-tiered system" of government that would include a central government with limited powers. The plan also would allow provinces to form groups (for example, a Muslim group of provinces). The final tier would belong to individual provinces themselves.

Congress and the Muslim League accepted the Mission's May 16 plan. However, Congress declined to join the interim government, which not only made it more difficult for the British Viceroy Wavell to govern, but added to the already strong distrust between Congress and the Muslim League. Wavell believed that the major stumbling block was over the issue of provinces being able to form groups—Congress was as strongly opposed to the measure as the Muslim League was in favor (both realized this not only would weaken the central government but could eventually lead to the creation of Pakistan). Meanwhile, the British administration and army's hold over India was weakening.

On July 6, Nehru stated that when the Constituent Assembly met to determine the constitution, Congress could do whatever it pleased. He added that probably "there will be no grouping [of provinces]." The Viceroy asked Nehru, now President of the Congress Party, to form an interim government. The Muslim League refused to participate.

What happened after the Muslim League withdrew its acceptance of the plan?

On July 29 the Muslim League withdrew its acceptance of the plan. Furthermore, Jinnah called a "Direct Action Day" on August 16 for Muslims to show their disapproval of Congress' actions. Supporters organized business closings and rallies, some of which turned violent. In Calcutta (Bengal) Muslim rioters killed approximately five thousand Hindus and left 100,000 homeless. Non-Muslims retaliated with more murders. Often gangsters on both sides took advantage of communal anger to rob and kill. Gandhi traveled to Bengal and his presence greatly helped to lessen the violence. Meanwhile Hindus attacked Muslims in southern Bihar and the United Provinces.



Dawn

Dawn

MUSLIM LEAGUE ACCEPTS MISSION PROPOSALS

BRITISH PRESS LAUDS LEAGUE STATESMANSHIP

Right of Secession to be Kept in View

PAKISTAN STILL REMAINS UNALTERABLE OBJECTIVE

Jinnah to Negotiate With Viceroy on Interim Govt.

'OUR AIM IS FREE MUSLIM STATE'

U.S. Indians Happy Over League Decision

PALESTINE REPORT TO BE IMPLEMENTED

ANGLO-U.S. TALKS ON DETAILS IN PROGRESS

Why did violence begin in the Punjab?

Khizr Tiwana had resigned as leader of the Unionist government in the Punjab in March 1946 after pressure from the Muslim League. Up to that point, there had been little violence in the province. However, when the governor asked the Muslim League to form the next provincial government, the Sikhs began anti-League demonstrations. These were met by counter demonstrations. Violence broke out, leading to at least two thousand deaths and over forty thousand refugees.

The British government appointed a new governor-general, Lord Louis Mountbatten, who arrived in India in March 1947. When both sides still refused to accept the Cabinet Mission Plan, Mountbatten saw no other choice but partition. Fearing the possibility of civil war, he decided to act quickly and set August 15 as the date for independence.

Pakistan would be what Jinnah had feared—what he had earlier called "maimed, mutilated, and moth-eaten." The non-Muslim areas of eastern Punjab and western Bengal voted to separate from their provinces and join India, while the Muslim-majority sections would help form Pakistan. Two boundary commissions, both headed by Sir Cyril Radcliffe, a British lawyer, had only a few months to decide the borders between the new nations. Meanwhile, Mountbatten encouraged the princes to join their states either to India or Pakistan.

Both Congress and the Muslim League agreed that their nations would be granted dominion status—becoming self-governing nations within the British Commonwealth. This gave them access to British military officers to help create the new armed forces.

What happened after the borders were announced?

The new borders were kept secret until after independence was announced. Once announced, the Punjab exploded into violence. Either voluntarily or through intimidation, Hindus and Sikhs left their homes and moved east, just as Muslims moved west. Often they were attacked by those who had been their neighbors. Entire trains were set upon, the occupants murdered, then the trains sent along their way as a warning to others.

No one is certain of the total casualties, but the two months following independence saw the largest mass migration in world history. Perhaps ten million people moved from one part of the Punjab to the other. The total for northern India exceeded twelve million. As many as one million people were murdered.

To add to this tragedy, Mohandas Gandhi was assassinated by a Hindu extremist, who opposed Gandhi's attempts to help Muslim victims of the violence.

INDIA AFTER INDEPENDENCE

Under Jawaharlal Nehru, its first Prime Minister, India dedicated itself to democracy and secularism. Its new constitution created a parliamentary government similar to Great Britain's.

Nehru remained India's leader until his death in 1964. As a socialist, he created five year plans to increase industrial production. The government controlled the airline, railroad, and energy industries. At first, industrial and agricultural production rose significantly, but a growing bureaucracy hurt capital investment.

What problems did Nehru face?

Nehru faced other problems both within and without. Sikhs pressed for their own state in the Punjab. Besides Hindi and English, fourteen other state languages were made official (they are all listed on India's currency notes). In foreign affairs, Nehru tried to be a leader of non-aligned nations, those siding with neither the United States nor the Soviet Union. At first China responded favorably, but later attacked and humiliated India in a 1962 border war.

What role did Indira Gandhi play in India's development?

A year after Nehru's death, his daughter, Indira Gandhi (no relation to Mohandas Gandhi), became Prime Minister during a period of monumental change for India. The Green Revolution created high yield seeds which helped India's agricultural production, but large landowners who could afford the necessary irrigation and fertilization fared better than small farmers. Indira Gandhi nationalized India's largest banks and, later, its insurance companies and coal mines. The country's economy stagnated and corruption sapped the government's strength to deal with economic concerns. In spite of these problems, India tested its first nuclear device in 1974.

Indira Gandhi early on broke with the party bosses of Congress who thought they could control her. She formed the Congress (I) Party and won reelection in 1971. That year India supported Bengali rebels who split Pakistan in two by creating the nation of Bangladesh. A 1975 court decision declared Gandhi's 1971 election victory had been illegally managed by a government employee. In response, she declared a state of emergency, suspended civil liberties, and jailed thousands of opponents.

Indira Gandhi lost the general election of 1977, but was victorious in 1980. In 1984, Sikh extremists, who wanted a separate state, took over the holiest Sikh shrine, the Golden Temple in Amritsar (Punjab).

Gandhi used massive military force to expel these extremists. In retaliation, two of Gandhi's own Sikh bodyguards gunned her down.

What were the effects of communal violence?

Gandhi's son Rajiv led the Congress Party to victory in 1985 and became prime minister (he served until 1989). Influenced by capitalism, Rajiv supported the growth of private enterprise. Bureaucratic regulations and taxes were reduced. Rajiv also had to deal with political extremists, in this case Hindu Tamils and Buddhist Sinalese on the neighboring island of Sri Lanka. He had attempted to impose a peace settlement there in 1987. While campaigning during the 1991 elections, he was assassinated by a Tamil terrorist.

In 1989, at least five hundred people died from communal violence. Three years later, Hindu militants destroyed the Babri Masjid mosque in Ayodhya. Nearly six hundred Muslims and three hundred Hindus were murdered. Much of this communal violence was a result of economic insecurity.

In the 1990s the Indian Government moved toward a liberalization of the economy. Such reforms have included lower tariffs, fewer required government licenses, the creation of a stock market, and the development of a computer software industry. A small but growing middle class, Western in outlook, has benefited from such reforms. Many of the more than one billion Indians have seen little improvement. Half of the nation's adults are illiterate (two-thirds of these are women). Often economic conflict is seen in terms of basic values; traditional Indians oppose what they perceive as Western values "infiltrating" their homeland. One example was the conflict over Coca Cola, which was banned from India in the late 1970s but allowed to return in 1995.

Mohandas Gandhi envisioned a nation of small villages, with his people growing their own food and making their own clothing. For him the spinning wheel was the symbol of a free India. Jawaharlal Nehru envisioned a democratic and socialist nation, with a strong government using its influence to make a strong nation. Nehru's grandson, Rajiv Gandhi, envisioned capitalism and a free market economy to rescue his nation from poverty. Perhaps it should not be surprising that a nation as large, diverse, and young as India should still be seeking a common vision. What is remarkable is that, despite its internal conflicts, the concept of democracy not only has persisted but thrived.

PAKISTAN AFTER INDEPENDENCE

From the beginning, Pakistan had to struggle for its very life. It began as a nation of two parts—West and East, each separated from the other by one thousand miles of territory belonging to India. In creating a government, Pakistan had little funding; its original share of assets from the British was quite small. The on-going conflict with India cut off Pakistan's major market. For example, in the past cotton from West Pakistan was processed in Bombay, India. Most of the commercial leaders of West Pakistan were Hindus or Sikhs who fled the area. In addition, Pakistan had a border dispute with its fellow Muslim nation of Afghanistan (the only nation to vote against Pakistan's admission to the United Nations in 1947).

What two questions continue to haunt Pakistan?

The Muslim League, which had fought so hard for the creation of Pakistan, had spent little time preparing to govern a nation. Two major questions continue to haunt Pakistan. The first is the role of Islam—is Pakistan a secular state for Muslims of the subcontinent or an Islamic state governed by religious law? The second deals with the distribution of power between the central and provincial governments. Jinnah, the first Governor-General of Pakistan, died in September 1948, too soon for him to influence his nation's political framework. Shortly after independence, he called for a Pakistan that would protect all of its citizens, no matter what religion. Liaquat Ali Khan, Jinnah's close associate and their country's first Prime Minister, advocated a constitutional parliamentary democracy, like Great Britain's. His attempts to create such a political system failed. He was assassinated in 1951.

Rather than democracy, leaders who followed Jinnah and Ali Khan often used repressive measures.

In 1953, Governor-General Ghulam Mohammad dismissed the Prime Minister and the Constituent Assembly and set the precedent of bringing in the military to help rule. Later, several generals ruled directly—General Ayub Khan (1958-69), General Yahya Khan (1969-71), and General Zia ul-Haq (1977-88). It was common for them to use martial law and imprison their political opponents. Two civilian prime ministers, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in the 1970s and his daughter Benazir Bhutto in the 1990s, relied on their personal power, often engaging in patronage and nepotism.

Since the inception of Pakistan, many Bengalis in the East felt that the West (dominated by Punjabis) had too much power and did not share the nation's resources fairly. In the 1970 elections, the Awami League of East Pakistan ran on a platform calling for a federal and parliamentary structure on the national level with more local autonomy for each "wing" of Pakistan—including its own currency, fiscal accounts, earnings from foreign exchange, and militia. Although the Awami League won a majority of seats in the National Assembly, Yahya Khan, Pakistan's ruler, postponed indefinitely convening the Assembly. This led to a revolt in East Pakistan (1971).

Members of the Awami League set up a government-in-exile in India, which helped the rebels. After border shelling between the two nations, India invaded East Pakistan and defeated Pakistani troops. Bangladesh became independent, and Pakistan lost its eastern wing.

What are the challenges faced by Pakistan?

Today, many in Pakistan are as poor as their neighbors in India. One third of Pakistanis live below the poverty line. The national literacy rate is only 35 percent (only 21 percent for women). Meanwhile, the government struggles with a $32 billion foreign debt and a lack of foreign investment.

Pakistan has yet to resolve the relationship of religion and state. In 1956 Pakistan was declared an Islamic Republic, but the meaning of those words were debated among three groups—liberals who believed Islam and Western democratic political beliefs could co-exist; *ulama*, traditional religious leaders who wanted the government to recognize the right of religious leaders to help interpret the law; and fundamentalists. The 1956 constitution did include prohibition against the consumption of liquor and the practice of usury. In 1991, the Shariat Bill was passed; the nation's laws would be based on the *Quran* and *sunna* (words and deeds of the Prophet Muhammad). Yet the debate continued. For example, how could a modern economy exist with a religious prohibition against the charging of interest?

INDIA AND PAKISTAN AT A GLANCE

	India	**Pakistan**
Population	1.05 billion	148 million
Number of Languages	15	8
GDP per capita	$2,540	$2,100
Life Expectancy	63 years	62 years
Imports	$53.8 billion	$9.2 billion
Exports	$44.5 billion	$8.8 billion
Military Expenditures-percent of GDP	2.5%	4.6%

Like India, Pakistan still searches for its vision. Unlike India, Pakistan has not had much opportunity to practice democracy. Whether it will become a state for Muslims, as Jinnah had wished, or an Islamic state, as many fundamentalists would prefer, remains to be seen.

Why did Pervez Musharraf overthrow the government?

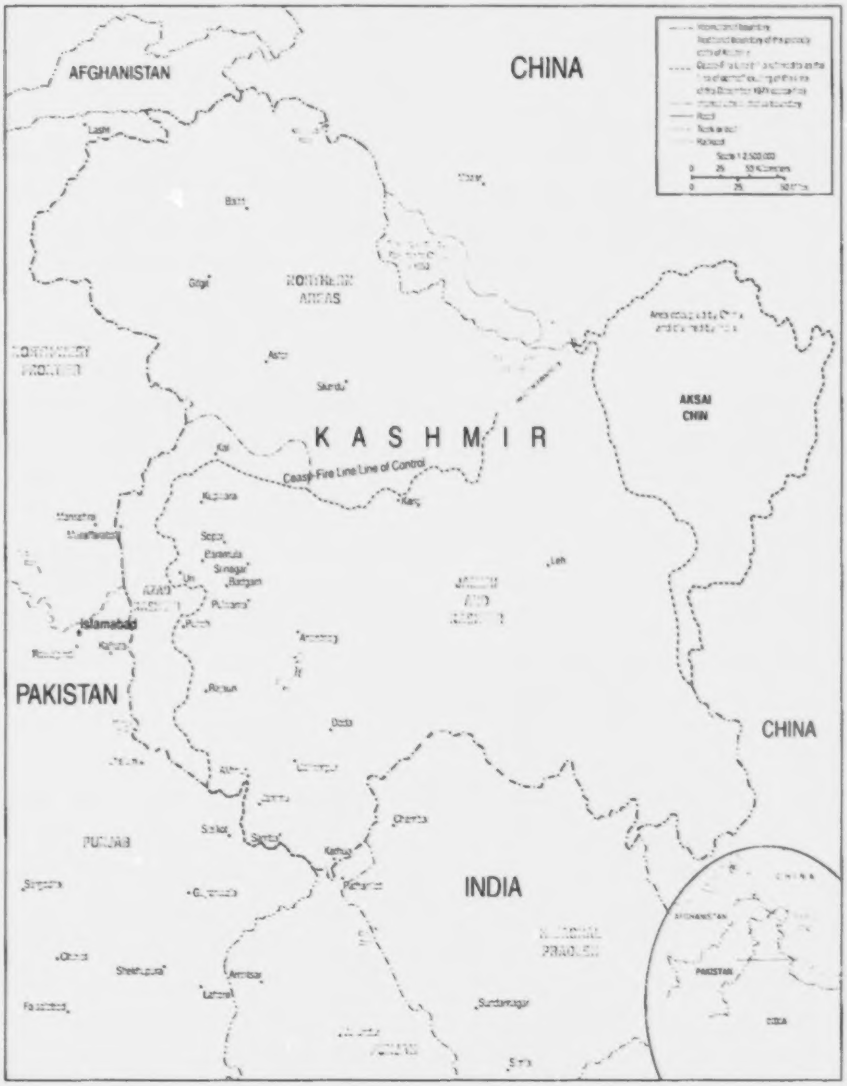
The year 1999 brought Pakistan yet another military dictator, Pervez Musharraf, a veteran of two wars in the Kashmir. Musharraf justified his take-over as ending corrupt government, a move approved by the government's supreme court. In a July 12, 2002 speech, Musharraf listed the weaknesses of democracy, including corruption and the lack of law and order. Twenty-nine new amendments added to Pakistan's constitution in August, 2002 allow a new National Security Council, headed by Musharraf, to appoint and fire the prime minister and cabinet. The Council may also dismiss any elected legislature.

THE PROBLEM OF KASHMIR

Recent events have increased tensions between India and Pakistan. In May 1998, Pakistan detonated its first nuclear device. In 1999, a fourth conflict in Kashmir, the Kargil War, ended in stalemate.

Kashmir has been at the center of the tensions between India and Pakistan since 1947. Today, some experts believe that it could be a flashpoint for a nuclear war.

What are the origins of the conflict over Kashmir?


AFGHANISTAN
CHINA
NORTHERN AREAS
Gilgit
Astor
Skardu
KASHMIR
Cease-Fire Line/Line of Control
Kargil
Leh
AKSAI CHIN
Srinagar
Baramula
Badgam
Pulwama
Poonch
Islamabad
AZAD KASHMIR
JAMMU AND KASHMIR
PAKISTAN
CHINA
Sialkot
Jammu
Kathua
Pathankot
PUNJAB
INDIA
Amritsar
Lahore
Sheikhupura
Faisalabad
HIMACHAL PRADESH
Sundarnagar
AFGHANISTAN
PAKISTAN
CHINA
INDIA

Kashmir shares a border with both India and Pakistan, but in 1947, its *maharajah,* Hari Singh (a descendent of Gulab Singh), refused to reach an agreement with either nation. He hoped to keep his state independent.

In October 1947, two months after partition, Pathan tribesmen from Pakistan entered Kashmir, routed the maharajah's troops and moved towards the capital, Srinagar. Hari Singh asked India's assistance, which was granted only after he agreed to annex his state to India. The Pathans, as undisciplined as they were warlike, stopped to loot the local population, giving India an opportunity to airlift reinforcements to Srinagar. Pakistani troops entered the war in support of the Pathans. Fighting went back and forth. At India's request, the United Nations called for a ceasefire. When fighting stopped, Pakistan controlled the western third of Kashmir, which Pakistan called "Azad (Free) Kashmir." India ruled the eastern two-thirds.

How did both sides justify their claims on Kashmir?

Both sides claimed all of Kashmir. Pakistan believed that because Kashmir was overwhelmingly Muslim, it belonged to the great Muslim community of which Pakistan envisioned itself. Pakistan pledged to withdraw its troops if the Kashmiri people were allowed to vote on their status.

In contrast, India claimed that, as a secular nation, it could encompass all of its ethnic and religious communities. India also argued that Kashmiri peasants, although Muslims, were drawn to India's promise of land reform. The most popular political

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party, led by Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, was sympathetic to Indian goals of economic change. India demanded Pakistani withdrawal from western Kashmir first, then the Kashmiri people could vote on their status.

What were the causes of the 1965 war?

A second war broke out in 1965. India had begun to excercise more direct authority over Kashmir. Pakistan feared this was in preparation for integrating the state fully into India. Pakistani troops infiltrated into Indian-controlled Kashmir. India also crossed the recognized international frontier in Punjab. Fighting escalated; both sides' infantry and fighter planes crossed the 1948 ceasefire line. Again the United Nations called a halt to the fighting. The Soviet Union brokered an agreement in which both nations not only promised to respect the old ceasefire line, but also not to use force to settle their differences.

Why was there war over East Pakistan?

Originally Pakistan consisted of two sections, West and East, separated by a thousand miles of Indian territory. Bengalis, the predominant people of East Pakistan and a majority of the entire nation, resented what they believed to be discrimination by Western Pakistanis, who they felt dominated the government and military leadership and had more medical and educational facilities. In 1971 political disputes resulted in strikes, demonstrations, and violence in East Pakistan. Government troops reacted brutally. Ten million refugees fled to India.

In response to this flood of refugees and seeing an opportunity to weaken Pakistan both politically and ideologically (denying its claim as a community for all Muslims of South Asia), India supported Bengali guerrilla forces. When Pakistan attacked India's northern air force bases, the Indian navy bombarded Karachi, Pakistan's largest port. Indian troops captured Dacca (now Dhaka), East Pakistan's major city. As a result, East Pakistan became the independent nation of Bangladesh.

As to Kashmir, India and Pakistan once again agreed not to use force to settle the Kashmir problem. The name of the 1948 ceasefire line became the Line of Control (LoC).

How did nuclear weapons raise the stakes over Kashmir?

In the late 1980s, well-founded suspicions of electoral fraud in India's Congress Party caused protests and demonstrations in Kashmir. Violence, including kidnapping, ensued. Both India and Pakistan sent troops to the Line of Control. By the end of the 1990s this tense situation became even more dangerous due to the threat of nuclear warfare.

India conducted its first nuclear test in 1974. In response, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto stated that Pakistanis would "eat grass" in order to develop nuclear weapons of their own. On May 11 and 13, 1998 India tested five nuclear devices. On May 28 and 30, 1998 Pakistan successfully conducted its first nuclear tests.

The next year India and Pakistan fought their fourth conflict, known as the Kargil War (named after a small town located in a mountainous district). Once again Pakistani troops infiltrated the Line of Control. The Indian Air Force and Army struck at these troops hidden among the high mountains. These troops were dislodged with heavy casualties on both sides.

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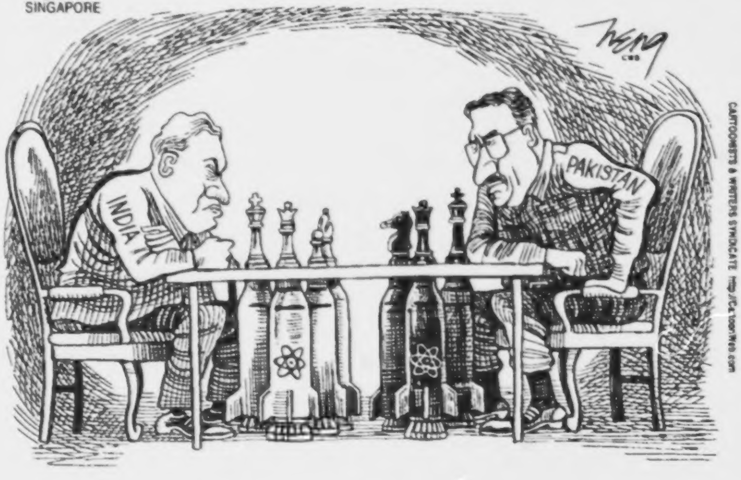
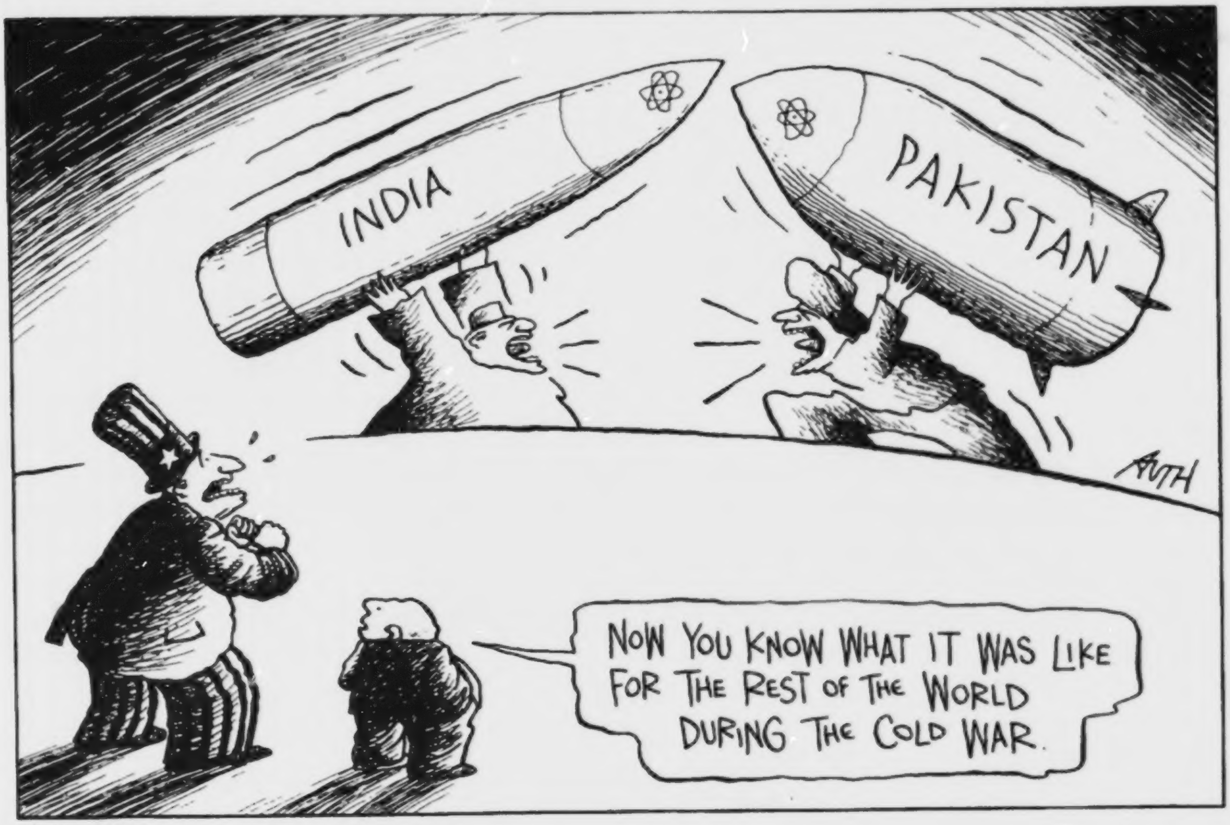


During 2001-2002, tensions continued to rise. At one point, India and Pakistan arrayed a total of one million troops along the Line of Control. Militants killed thirty-eight people in an attack on the Kashmir Assembly in Srinagar, fourteen more in Delhi in an attack on the Indian Parliament, another thirty in an Indian army camp in Kashmir, and two Hindus making a pilgrimage near Srinagar. In addition, the moderate Kashmiri politician Abdul Ghani Lone was assassinated. India claims that Pakistan is behind these acts of terrorism. Pakistan, in turn, argues that India's rule of Kashmir grows more oppressive each day. Innocent Muslims have been harassed, beaten, and even murdered.

Whether India and Pakistan can resolve the problem of Kashmir remains to seen. One thing is certain, for the people of Kashmir, India, and Pakistan, the stakes are very high.


INDIA
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NOW YOU KNOW WHAT IT WAS LIKE FOR THE REST OF THE WORLD DURING THE COLD WAR.

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OPTIONAL READING: WHAT DID JINNAH WANT?

Mohammad Ali Jinnah is one of the most controversial figures in history. Beloved by his followers, hated by his enemies (including a fellow Muslim who tried to assassinate him), Jinnah's personal life seems a mass of contradictions. A wealthy attorney trained in England, through most of his life he wore expensive English suits and even sported a monocle, yet later wore a "karakul," a sheepskin hat of Central Asia. He was more at home with English than Urdu, the future national language of Pakistan. He enjoyed alcohol and was a chain-smoker, although Islamic law forbids both liquor and cigarettes. Yet millions of Indian Muslims knew him as the *Quaid-I-Azam* – the Great Leader.

At first glance, his political career seems just as puzzling. Of all the political leaders of early twentieth century India, Jinnah worked the hardest for unity between Hindu and Muslim. One reason he broke with the Congress Party in the early 1920s was Gandhi's support of the *caliphate* movement (to maintain the authority of the *Caliph* of the Ottoman Empire), which, Jinnah feared, would cause a split "not only amongst Hindus and Muslims but between Hindus and Hindus and Muslims and Muslims...." As late as 1935, Jinnah declared that "...religion should not enter politics." Yet, a few years later, he would speak of Hindus and Muslims as two different nations and demand not just communal safeguards for Muslims, but a separate state.

The view of many historians is that without Jinnah there would have been no Pakistan. But the question that intrigues them is: Did Jinnah really want Pakistan?

The traditional view is that Congress's arbitrary and dictatorial rule in the provinces it controlled after the 1937 elections made Jinnah realize that Muslims needed a homeland of their own. Historian Stanley Wolpert agrees. In his biography of Jinnah, he wrote that in 1939, "...Jinnah had long since decided in favor of a separate and equal nation for Muslim India." The Muslim League's Lahore Resolution of 1940, which called for Muslim-majority provinces to be grouped into "Independent States," was but the first step on the road to Pakistan. Taking a similar view, Sir

"I have much sympathy with Jinnah, who is straighter, more positive and more sincere than most of the Congress leaders.... He is a curious character, a lonely, unhappy, arbitrary, self-centered man, fighting with much resolution what I fear is a losing battle."

—A.P. Wavell, Viceroy of India (July 8, 1946)

"The two things that made the greatest impression on me were seeing the Taj Mahal and Mr. Jinnah for the first time. These overwhelmed me as nothing had done in the whole of my life."

—Yahiya Bakhtiar, Senator from Baluchistan

"...blatant, vulgar, offensive, egotistical. What a man! And what a misfortune for India and for the Muslims that he should have so much influence! I feel depressed about it."

—Jawaharlal Nehru, Congress Party leader (1943)

"He was like God – although we Muslims can't say God. He was on a pedestal; he was our salvation."

—Zeenat Rashid, daughter of Jinnah's close friend, Sir Abdullah Haroon of the Sind

"...there emerged on the India side a number of notable figures and two outstanding characters, Gandhi and Jinnah, the former a unique personality of absorbing interest, the latter less remarkable and less attractive as a man, but a striking example of a single individual influencing the broad course of history, for without Jinnah there would have been no Pakistan."

—Sir Penderel Moon, British member of the Indian Civil Service, author and historian

Penderel Moon wrote of Jinnah's "obduracy" over the creation of Pakistan.

In 1985, historian Ayesha Jalal, born and raised in Pakistan, published *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan*. Her view dramatically differs from these historians. Jalal contends that an independent nation of Pakistan was not what Jinnah intended. Instead, he had two major goals. First, Jinnah's Muslim League had to strive for recognition as Muslim India's only representative, not only from the British and the Congress Party, but also (and perhaps more importantly) from Muslim provincial leaders. Jinnah needed to create a united Muslim political community under his leadership to stand up to Congress. Second, he wanted an arrangement for power-sharing in the central government that would adequately protect Muslims from Hindu majority rule. In Jalal's view, Jinnah did not really want partition and a separate nation of Pakistan. She states, "The Lahore resolution should therefore be seen as a bargaining counter..."—a threat to get the British and the Congress Party to give the Muslim League more power in the federal government of a united India.

Certainly, the small Pakistan that was eventually granted independence was not what its supporters, or Jinnah, had hoped for. Punjab and Bengal, the two most powerful Muslim-majority provinces, were themselves partitioned at the cost of incredible suffering. Calcutta was given to India, although Jinnah had earlier warned, "Pakistan without Calcutta would be like asking a man to live without his heart." The two parts of Pakistan were separated by one thousand miles of Indian territory. And thirty-five million Muslims were left behind in India, the largest Muslim population in a non-Muslim nation. Even within Pakistan, Muslims from smaller provinces resented the control of western Punjab.

To avoid this, Jinnah had wanted, through negotiations, "...to be able to play a long, slow game with the Congress," until a power-sharing arrangement in the government could be made. But Congress leaders like Nehru were concerned that any agreement with Jinnah would lead to a weaker central government, the opposite of what Congress wanted. That, coupled with the British desire to leave India as soon as possible, doomed Jinnah's strategy. Ironically, unlike what traditional historians contend, Jalal argues, "It was Congress that insisted on partition. It was Jinnah who was against partition."

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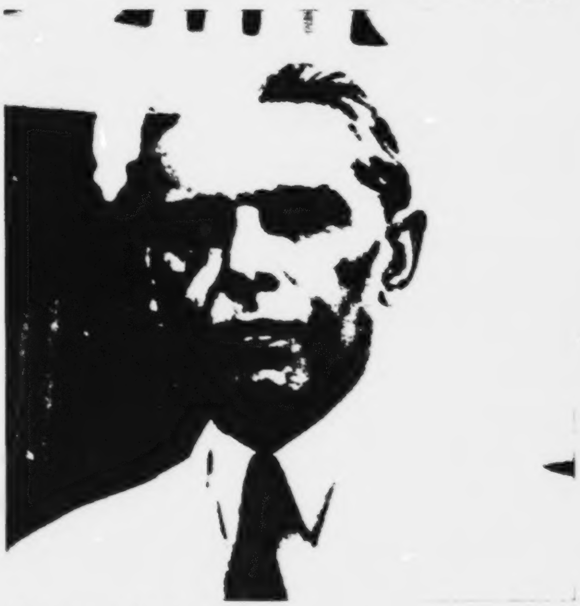

Mohammed Ali Jinnah

Jalal's thesis has been controversial. One can argue that it questions the very creation of Pakistan as a Muslim nation. Besides those who take the more traditional view, other historians have different reservations. Some question her paying so much attention to Jinnah and not enough to local Muslim politics or to what a "Muslim community" actually meant. Then there is the question as to whether anyone can know what such a private man as Jinnah really wanted.

What is not questioned is that Jinnah will never stop fascinating students of South Asian history. For without him, there would have been no partition and no Pakistan.

CHRONOLOGY

ca. 2000 B.C.E.	Harappa and Mohenjodaro thrive as planned cities
ca.1000 B.C.E.	Discovery of iron, Vedism founded
400 C.E.	*Mahabharata* and *Bhagavad Gita* developed
700	Muhammad ibn Qasim conquers Sind
1500-early 1700s	Mughal Empire reigns
1600	English merchants form East India Company
1655	East India Company gains Bombay from Portugal
1757	Battle of Plassey
1773-1790s	Britain gains more territory in India
1800s	English becomes the language of education in India
1857	The Indian Mutiny takes place
1858	Britain takes control of India from the East India Company
1871	First all-India census
1885	Hume founds Congress Party
1892	India Councils Act
1906	Muslim League founded
1907	Tilak calls on Indians to boycott British goods
1909	Morley-Minto Reforms passed
1914-1918	World War I
1916	Mohammad Ali Jinnah arranges Lucknow Conference
1917	British government announces eventual self-governance for India
1919	Amritsar massacre, Montagu-Chelmsford Report passed
1920-22	Gandhi leads Congress Party
1920	Jinnah resigns from the Congress Party
1931	Gandhi leads protest against the salt tax
1937	Congress party dominates elections
1939-1945	World War II
1942	British Government offers India eventual independence
1946	Muslim League regains seats in elections
March 1946	Cabinet Mission arrives in India
June 1946	Cabinet Mission leaves India
August 1947	Indian independence, Pakistan is formed
October 1947	India and Pakistan go to war over Kashmir
1965	India and Pakistan go to war over Kashmir
1971	India and Pakistan go to war over East Pakistan
1974	India tests nuclear device
1998	Pakistan tests nuclear device
1999	India and Pakistan go to war over Kashmir

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May 2003

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Thomas J. Biersteker
Director, Watson Institute for International Studies

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About the Choices Approach

Choices for the 21st Century curricula are designed to make complex international issues understandable and meaningful for students. Using an innovative approach to student-centered instruction, Choices units develop critical thinking and civic judgment — essential ingredients of responsible citizenship.

Understanding the Significance of History: Each Choices unit provides students with a thorough introduction to the topic under consideration. Students gain an understanding of the historical background and the status of current issues. In this way, they see how history has shaped our world. With this foundation, students are prepared to thoughtfully consider a variety of perspectives on public policy.

Exploring Policy Alternatives: Each Choices unit is built around a framework of alternative policy options that challenges students to consider multiple perspectives and to think critically about the issue at hand. Students are best able to understand and analyze the options through a cooperative learning/role-play activity. In groups, students explore their assigned options and plan short presentations. The setting of the role-play may be a Congressional hearing, meeting of the National Security Council, or an election campaign forum. Student groups defend their policy options and, in turn, are challenged with questions from their classmates. The ensuing debate demands analysis and evaluation of the many conflicting values, interests, and priorities reflected in the options.

Exercising Civic Judgment: Armed with fresh insights from the role-play and debate, students are challenged to articulate original, coherent policy options that reflect their own values, priorities, and goals as individuals and citizens. Students' views can be expressed in letters to Congress or the White House, editorials for the school or community newspaper, persuasive speeches, or visual presentations.

Why Use the Choices Approach? Choices curricula are informed by current educational research about how students learn best. Studies have consistently demonstrated that students of all abilities learn best when they are actively engaged with the material rather than listening passively to a lecture. Student-centered instructional activities motivate students and develop higher-order thinking skills. However, some high school educators find the transition from lecture format to student-centered instruction difficult. Lecture is often viewed as the most efficient way to cover the required material. Choices curricula offer teachers a flexible resource for covering course material while actively engaging students and developing skills in critical thinking, persuasive writing, and informed citizenship. The instructional activities that are central to Choices units can be valuable components in any teacher's repertoire of effective teaching strategies. Each Choices unit includes student readings, a framework of policy options, suggested lesson plans, and resources for structuring cooperative learning, role-plays, and simulations. Students are challenged to:

- recognize relationships between history and current issues
- analyze and evaluate multiple perspectives on an issue
- understand the internal logic of a viewpoint
- engage in informed debate
- identify and weigh the conflicting values represented by different points of view
- reflect upon personal values and priorities surrounding an issue
- develop and articulate original viewpoints on an issue
- communicate in written and oral presentations
- collaborate with peers

Teachers who use Choices units say the collaboration and interaction that take place are highly motivating for students. Opportunities abound for students to contribute their individual talents to the group presentations in the form of political cartoons, slogans, posters, or characterizations. These cooperative learning lessons invite students to take pride in their own contributions and the group product, enhancing students' self-esteem and confidence as learners. Choices units offer students with diverse abilities and learning styles the opportunity to contribute, collaborate, and achieve.

Note to Teachers

Today, India and Pakistan face each other with hostility and suspicion. Both countries have nuclear weapons. Some experts think that the nuclear face-off between India and Pakistan makes the region the most dangerous place in the world. How did it come to this? The story behind the creation of these two countries is complex and fascinating.

The end of the Second World War was also the beginning of the end for the old colonial empires. India's bid for independence from Great Britain is riveting history, yet it is often overlooked. Examining the debate leading up to the partition of India into two states provides insight into the historical dynamics that continue to shape India and Pakistan today.

Understanding the arguments surrounding the events of 1946 requires an understanding of the historical forces that shaped India. *Indian Independence and the Question of Pakistan* probes the complex, rich history of South Asia. This unit begins with an exploration of the geography and the evolution of culture in India before European political intrusion. The reading examines the origins of independence and the resulting political systems by exploring many cultural and social factors, including the role of religion, in the region.

Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan: The Teacher Resource Book accompanying this unit contains a day-by-day lesson plan and student activities. The backround reading reviews important milestones in South Asian history and introduces students to the competing influences that will affect the independence of India. On the first day, an activity focuses on the importance of the monsoon to the agriculture and trade that formed the basis of India's great civilizations. The second day of the lesson plan focuses on the role of Gandhi and asks students to consider the morality and efficacy of his methods. Students then prepare for and participate in a roleplay. Finally, students consider the effects of partition on India and Pakistan. An optional reading examines one historical interpretation of the role of Mohammed Ali Jinnah in the founding of Pakistan.

- **Alternative Study Guides:** Each section of background reading is accompanied by two distinct study guides. The standard study guide is designed to help students harvest the information provided in the background readings in preparation for analysis and synthesis within classroom activities. The advanced study guide requires analysis, synthesis, and evaluation prior to class activities.

- **Vocabulary and Concepts:** The background reading in *Indian Independence and the Question of Pakistan* addresses subjects that are complex and challenging. To help your students get the most out of the text, you may want to review with them "Key Terms" found in the Teacher Resource Book (TRB) on page TRB-33 before they begin their assignment. An "*Indian Independence and the Question of Pakistan* Issues Toolbox" is also included on page TRB-34. This provides additional information on key concepts of particular importance to understanding the foundations of the partition of India.

The lesson plans offered in this unit are provided as a guide. They are designed for traditional class periods of approximately 50 minutes. Those on block schedules will need to make adaptations. Many teachers choose to devote additional time to certain activities. We hope that these suggestions help you in tailoring the unit to fit the needs of your classroom.

Integrating This Unit into Your Curriculum

Units produced by the Choices for the 21st Century Education Program are designed to be integrated into a variety of social studies courses. Below are a few ideas regarding where *Indian Independence and the Question of Pakistan* might fit into a social studies curriculum.

World History: As World History courses become truly global in scope, the inclusion of a unit on the partition of British India helps students gain a greater understanding of South Asia's history. Besides offering an overview of the subcontinent, the unit focuses on the nature of partition, a problem that has also affected Ireland, Palestine, and other parts of the world today.

Imperialism is a major theme in World History. One strong example of imperialism was British rule over India. The various reforms, which the British believed would lead to Indian independence, are juxtaposed against native independence movements. These movements presage others of the post-World War II era.

The influence of great men and women in history, another significant world history theme, is exemplified by the study of Mohandas Gandhi and Mohammed Ali Jinnah. In the cases of both men, students will learn the power as well as limitations that individuals can have upon history.

Political Science/Government: How can one small nation rule a much larger territory for well over one hundred years? Students will explore both how British reforms changed the nature of government and the various ways that Indian nationalists responded to these reforms. Students will also consider the issue of a strong national government vs. a looser federal structure and the role of religion in a modern nation-state. Perhaps most fascinating, students will grapple with the concept of nation-building. Not long ago, political scientists commonly assumed that larger nations grew from combining smaller states. Was the partition of India an aberration or a sign of things to come?

Geography: One cannot study history without a firm understanding of geography. India is a case in point. The lesson on the monsoon demonstrates how these seasonal winds created wealth in agriculture and trade that formed the basis of India's great civilizations. Geographic features, such as the Arabian Sea and mountain passes, facilitated Muslim invasions, just as the mountains of the Western Ghats sheltered Maratha resistance to the Mughals. Tragically, the partition boundary line—a human creation—that ran through the Punjab caused untold suffering for millions of people.

Religion: Two of the world's greatest faiths—Hinduism and Islam—coexisted in India for centuries. Differences were great, yet for the most part Hindus and Muslims lived harmoniously. Some religious leaders even attempted to reconcile the two faiths. Yet, religious justification was given as a major reason for partition and the horrible brutality that followed. Today, neither nation is certain of the role religion plays within it. This unit offers students the challenge of studying religion and the modern nation-state.

Understanding India's Early History

Objectives:

Students will:

- Identify the major influences on early Indian civilization.
- Compare religious beliefs of Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs.
- Evaluate how the British were able to conquer and hold India.
- Understand the importance of geography in India's history and in history in general.

Required Reading:

Before beginning the unit, students should have read the Introduction and Part I of the background reading in the student text (pages 1-10) and completed "Study Guide—Part I" in the Teacher Resource Book (TRB 4-5) or "Advanced Study Guide—Part I" (TRB-6).

Handouts:

- "The Peacock's Dance—India and the Monsoon" (TRB 7-10)

In the Classroom:

1. *Focus Quesion*—Ask students to consider the following question (put on the board or an overhead): "What makes a civilization great?" List student responses on board or overhead.

2. *Forming Small Groups*—Divide the class into groups of three or four. Each group should apply the list to their homework. Which of the listed characteristics apply to Indian history? Students should use specific examples from the reading.

3. *Sharing Conclusions*—After about ten minutes, call on students to share their findings.

4. *"The Peacock's Dance—India and the Monsoon."* Have students remain in their groups. Distribute reading and questions on the monsoon. Have students complete the reading and questions. If time permits, discuss the reading, emphasizing the final question regarding how geography helps shape history.

Homework:

Students should read Part II of the background reading in the student text (pages 11-19) and complete "Study Guide—Part II" (TRB 12-13) or "Advanced Study Guide—Part II" (TRB-14).

Name: ____________________

Study Guide Part I—India's Early History

1. List three characteristics of Indo-Europeans.

   a.

   b.

   c.

2. List three accomplishments of Indians prior to Muslim invasions.

   a.

   b.

   c.

3. In what way were the leaders Ashoka and Akbar alike?

4. a. What were some accomplishments of the Mughal Empire?

   b. Why did the Mughal Empire decline?

5. Explain the term "Brahman."

6. Why did early Muslim invaders have mixed feelings toward Hindus?

7. Explain the term "Sikh."

8. How was the British East India Company able to conquer so much of India?

9. What caused the Rebellion of 1857? How did the British react to the rebellion?

10. Why did the British regard themselves as superior to the native peoples of India?

Name:

Advanced Study Guide Part I—India's Early History

1. Did the Indians living before the Muslim invasions establish great civilizations? Explain.

2. In general, were Mughal rulers characterized more by religious tolerance or intolerance? Explain.

3. What were some major religious differences among Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs? Are there any similarities among the three religions?

4. Were the *sepoys* who rebelled against the British heroes or traitors?

5. Based on their remarkable accomplishments, were the British justified in considering themselves superior to the native peoples of India?

Name:

The Peacock's Dance—India and the Monsoon

In late spring, the male peacock begins its dance and calling for a mate. Symbolically, the peacock's courtship heralds the coming of the summer monsoon, a season of joy for all living things in India. The great fifth-century Sanskrit poet Kalidasa likened the monsoon to another animal:

> "The clouds advance like rutting elephants, enormous and full of rain.
> They come forward as kings among tumultuous armies;
> their flags are lightning, the thunder is their drum."

In India's poetry, unlike that of the West, the harsh winter sun represents sadness, while dark clouds bring joy, because they bring rain.

It is no wonder that Indians and their Asian neighbors think this way. About half the world's people depend on the monsoon for survival. In India alone, 80% of the total yearly precipitation occurs during the wet monsoon season of May through September.

Although it is common to think of monsoon as rain, the word is derived from the Arabic word *mausim*, meaning season. Monsoons are seasonal winds that depend on three meteorological principles:

1. Air always moves from high pressure to low.
2. Given two surfaces, high pressure forms over the colder surface.
3. In summer, a body of water is cooler than land. In winter, the opposite occurs.

In summer, the land of the Indian subcontinent heats quickly. However, the waters of the Arabian Sea, Indian Ocean, and Bay of Bengal—which surround the subcontinent—remain cooler. As the warm air over India rises, the cooler air over the water flows to equalize the air pressure. Crossing the water, this wind picks up moisture, which, upon reaching land, condenses and results in torrents of rain. This process of condensation releases energy that heats the air, allowing more moisture-laden winds to rush in and add even more rain.

In the winter, from November to March, this process is reversed. As warmer air from these large bodies of water rises, cold air from deep within Asia flows to equalize the air pressure. Moving over this great land mass, the air remains dry. In fact, dropping from the Himalayas makes the air even dryer. This is a time when India receives little rain.

For India, the summer monsoon is divided. In its western branch, winds develop over the Arabian Sea. Climbing the Western Ghats, they condense their precipitation over these mountains and spill into the central plateau, then move north to Mubai (Bombay). The eastern branch begins in the Bay of Bengal, then moves to Bangladesh, West Bengal and Assam in India, and, after reaching the Himalayas, is pushed toward the Ganges River (Gangetic) Plain. The two branches usually merge in central India in mid-July.

This heavy rainfall turns the landscape from brown to green, giving some areas the lushness of rainforest (the English word "jungle" is an Indian term). In his novel, *Train to Pakistan*, Khushwant Singh gives a sense of this transformation:

"Almost overnight grass begins to grow and leafless trees turn green. Snakes, centipedes and scorpions are born out of nothing. The ground is strewn with earthworms, ladybirds and tiny frogs. At night, myriads of moths flutter around the lamps. They fall in everybody's food and water. Geckos dart about filling themselves with insects till they get heavy and fall off ceilings."

Yet not all places fit this description. There are several reasons for the great variations of rainfall caused

Name:

by the summer monsoon. First, the path of the monsoon normally does not reach the entire subcontinent. For example, the Indus Valley in the northwest receives little rainfall (dryer areas like these depend on irrigation for agriculture). Calcutta, in the eastern part of the Gangetic Plain, is drenched with as much as thirteen inches of rain per month. In contrast, Delhi, to the west, receives only about seven inches per month (its monsoon winds already have dropped most of their rain along the western coast).

Second, the monsoon can be unpredictable. Sometimes these winds arrive on time, but often earlier or later than expected. An early monsoon, like an unexpected present, can bring relief to parched areas and mean bumper crops of rice, cotton, or peanuts, among others. A late monsoon can mean drought and untold misery. Dry winds blow sandstorms, plants wither, and animals pant for water. Ironically, too much rainfall can also spell disaster – destroying crops and killing people in floods and mudslides. As much as meteorologists refine their skills, each year's summer monsoon is never entirely predictable.

Historically, the monsoon helped to shape the development of the civilizations surrounding the Indian Ocean. Legend tells of Hippalus, a Greek sailor who, around 40 C.E., discovered the principles that explained how monsoon winds helped ships go back and forth across the Indian Ocean. However, long before written records were kept, African, Arab, and Indian sailors probably noticed the summer and winter rhythm of these winds.

According to Professor Richard Bulliet and other scholars, the monsoon led to sailing and trading practices that were quite different from those of the Mediterranean. Ships on the Mediterranean Sea used square sails and long oars to maneuver the many islands and small harbors. These ships usually stayed close to land. In contrast, monsoon winds carried, across the length of the Indian Ocean, vessels using lateen sails (four-sided sails that could catch the wind quickly).

The nature of settlements also differed between the two bodies of water. Along the Mediterranean, Greeks and Phoenicians established colonies that generally kept in close touch with their home cities. This led to the trading empires of Athens and Carthage. Because of the greater distance, traders in the Indian Ocean maintained less contact with home; their colonies usually fell under the control of local rulers. Thus, while the Mediterranean witnessed constant warfare over trade routes and colonies, there were few wars in the Indian Ocean until the arrival of Europeans at the end of the fifteenth century. In effect, rather than being winds of war, the monsoons were winds of peace.

Questions

1. Why are monsoon winds so important to India and other parts of Asia?

2. Briefly explain how the monsoon "works." Refer to the maps of the monsoon.

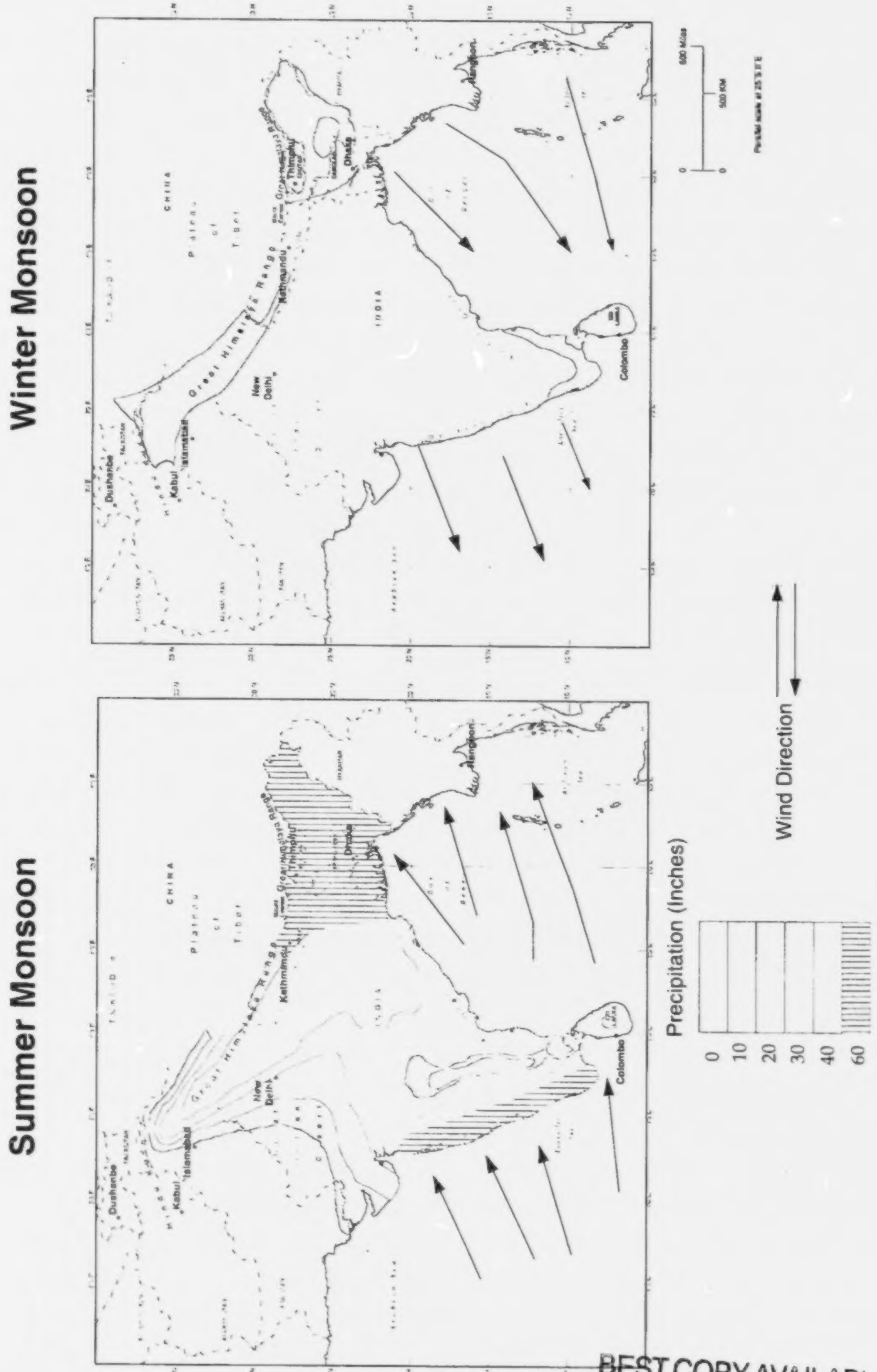
3. During the summer monsoon, what accounts for the differences in precipitation among the various regions of India?

4. Why might meteorology be considered an especially important occupation in India?

5. What alternative do areas not watered by the monsoon have in order to grow crops?

6. Why do you think the peacock is used to symbolize the monsoon, rather than some of India's more famous animals, such as the tiger?

7. Using India's monsoon as an example, write a short paragraph with the following topic sentence: "Geography helps to shape history."


Winter Monsoon
Summer Monsoon
CHINA
Plateau of Tibet
Great Himalaya Range
Hindu Kush
Dushanbe
Kabul
Islamabad
New Delhi
Kathmandu
Thimphu
Dhaka
Rangoon
INDIA
Colombo
0
500 Miles
500 KM
Precipitation (Inches)
0
10
20
30
40
60
Wind Direction

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From Reform to Indpendence

Objectives:

Students will:
- Understand various reforms made by the British government.
- Compare the goals of the Congress Party to those of the Muslim League.
- Analyze why many Muslims called for the creation of Pakistan.
- Evaluate Gandhi's use of *satyagraha* as a political tactic.

Required Reading:

Before beginning the unit, students should have read Part II of the background reading in the student text (pages 11-19) and completed "Study Guide—Part II" in the Teacher's Resource Book (TRB 12-13) or "Advanced Study Guide—Part II" (TRB-14).

Handouts:

- "Gandhi as Satyagrahi" (TRB 15-18)

In the Classroom:

1. *Focus Quesion*—Ask students to consider the following question (put on the board or an overhead): "What price would you pay to be free?" Give students five minutes to write on the topic, then conduct an open discussion of the question.

2. *Review information*—Question students on the following:
   a. How meaningful were the British reforms to Indian nationalists?
   b. Compare the goals of the Congress Party to that of the Muslim League.
   c. Why did many Muslims want a separate nation of Pakistan?

3. *"Gandhi as Satyagrahi"*—Distribute reading and questions.
   a. Read the introduction together.
   b. Divide students into the same groups as for the previous lesson. Have each group read the documents and answer the accompanying questions.
   c. Discuss student responses.

Homework:

Distribute the following:
1. "Role Play Assignment" sheet (TRB-19). (Prepare in advance a sheet for each student.) Each student should be assigned to one of the five groups present at the conference (Cabinet Mission, Congress Party, Muslim League, Unionist Party of the Punjab, or Sikhs of the Punjab).

Within each group, each member should be assigned one of the following roles: 1. Chairperson; 2. One student to represent his/her group with each of the other four groups.

2. Roleplay Packet
   a. "Cabinet Mission Plans A and B—a summary" TRB-20
   b. "Cabinet Mission's Analysis of the "large" Pakistan that Jinnah Wanted" TRB-21
   c. "Conference to Determine the Future of India—Agenda" TRB-22
   d. "Planning Strategy for the Roleplay" TRB-23

3. Students should read "March 1946: The Moment of Decision" and "Positions in Brief" in the background reading (pages 20-22). Students should also find and read their group's position in the background reading (pages 23-34).

Study Guide Part II—From Reform to Independence

1. What did the British government do after the Revolt of 1857?

2. Explain the idea of "separate electorates."

3. Explain the main points of the Cripps Plan of 1942. Why did the plan fail?

4. What were Gandhi's main tactics to achieve independence?

5. According to Gandhi and Nehru, why did communal problems exist between Hindus and Muslims?

   Gandhi:

   Nehru:

6. What specific Hindu actions worried many Muslims?

7. How did Jinnah's tactics for seeking independence differ from Gandhi's?

8. What events in 1937 convinced many Muslims that they needed a separate homeland?

9. What did the Muslim League demand in 1940?

10. How did the elections of 1946 differ from those of 1937?

11. Was the Muslim League justified in asking for a separate homeland for Muslims? Explain.

Name:

Advanced Study Guide Part II—From Reform to Independence

1. Why might Indian nationalists have been suspicious of British reforms between 1892 and 1935?

2. Was Gandhi's *satyagraha* campaign an effective tactic to achieve independence?

3. What evidence could the Muslim League use to suggest that the Congress Party was biased against Muslims?

4. Compare the significance of the election of 1937 to that of 1946.

5. Was the Muslim League justified in asking for a separate nation for Muslims? Explain.

Gandhi as Satyagrahi

Mohandas Gandhi spent much of his life fighting injustice, often through what he called *satyagraha*. In Sanskrit, "satya" means "truth" and "graha" means "to attain." Thus, *satyagraha*, often translated as "reaching for the truth," is civil disobedience characterized by non-violent non-cooperation. For Gandhi this tactic was tied closely to the concept of *ahimsa*— non-violence (more specifically for Gandhi, the love that remains once all violence has ended within oneself).

As Gandhi explained, "'Satyagraha' means 'holding to this truth' in every situation, no matter how fierce the storm. Because he wants nothing for himself, the true satyagrahi is not afraid of entering any conflict for the sake of those around him, without hostility, without resentment, without resorting even to violent words. Even in the face of the fiercest provocation, he never lets himself forget that he and the attacker are one. This is *ahimsa*, which is more than just the absence of violence; it is intense love."

Document 1: "A Bonfire of Certificates" by M. K. Gandhi (1928)

In 1908, as a young lawyer in South Africa, Gandhi opposed the Asiatic Law Amendment Act, which required the Indian community to register with the government and carry a certificate at all times on penalty of imprisonment or deportation. Gandhi began a *satyagraha* campaign to protest this law (known as the Black Act). On August 16, as an act of defiance, Gandhi held a bonfire to burn the certificates. According to Gandhi, thirty thousand Indians attended. As he reported:

"The Committee had already received upwards of 2,000 certificates to be burnt. These were all thrown into a cauldron, saturated with paraffin and set ablaze by Mr. Essop Mian. The whole assembly rose to their feet and made the place resound with the echoes of their continuous cheers during the burning process. Some of those who had still withheld their certificates brought them in numbers to the platform, and these too were consigned to the flames."

The *satyagraha* campaign continued until January 12, 1914, when Gandhi and the South African government reached a compromise agreement ending some of the harshest provisions of the Black Act.

Document 2: *The Great Trial* by K.P.K. Menon (1922)

In India, Gandhi was arrested for writing seditious articles (sedition means likely to start a rebellion), a charge to which he pled guilty. During the *satyagraha* campaign he had recently led, some Indian protestors had engaged in violent acts, including the burning and hacking to death of twenty-three policemen in the village of Chauri Chaura. When the British government blamed Gandhi for this, he replied,

"Thinking over these [acts of violence] deeply and sleeping over them night after night, it is impossible for me to dissociate myself from the diabolical crimes of Chauri Chaura.... He [the British Advocate General] is quite right when he says that as a man of responsibility, a man having had a fair share of experience of this world, I should have known the consequences of every one of my acts. I knew that I was playing with fire. I ran the risk, and if I was set free, I would still do the same. ...

"I wanted to avoid violence. ... But I had to make my choice. I had either to submit to a system which I considered had done an irreparable harm to my country, or incur the risk of the mad fury of my people bursting forth, when they understood the truth from my lips. I know that my people have sometimes gone mad. I am deeply sorry for it and I am therefore here to submit not to a light penalty but to the highest penalty. I do not ask for mercy."

Document 3: "Dharasana Salt Raid" by Webb Miller (1936)

Gandhi was once again arrested on May 5, 1930. On May 20, as part of the campaign against the salt tax, 2,500 *satyagrahi* followers planned to raid the salt works at Dharasana, 150 miles north of Bombay (Gandhi had intended to lead the march himself). Their leader, Madame Naidu, warned, "You must not use violence under any circumstances." Webb Miller, an American reporter, wrote an eyewitness account. As the "Gandhi men" walked toward the salt works …

"… at a word of command, scores of native police rushed upon the advancing marchers and rained blows on their heads with their steel-shod lathis [long bamboo sticks]. Not one of the marchers even raised an arm to fend off the blows. They went down like tenpins. From where I stood I heard sickening whacks of the clubs on unprotected skulls. The waiting crowd of watchers groaned and sucked in their breaths in sympathetic pain at every blow. …

"At times the spectacle of unresisting men being methodically bashed into a bloody pulp sickened me so much that I had to turn away. The western mind finds it difficult to grasp the idea of nonresistance."

Document 4: "Zionism and Anti-Semitism" by M.K. Gandhi (November 26, 1938)

By the end of November 1938, Nazi Germany had passed a series of discriminatory laws against Germany's Jews. In addition, newspapers had reported Nazi persecution of Jews. Gandhi wrote an article in his newspaper, *Harijan*, which in part contained this advice:

"Can the Jew resist this organized and shameless persecution? Is there a way to preserve their self-respect, and not to feel helpless, neglected and forlorn? I submit there is. … If I were a Jew born in Germany and earned my livelihood there, I would claim Germany as my home even as the tallest Gentile (non-Jew) might, and challenge him to shoot me or cast me in the dungeon; I would refuse to be expelled or to submit to discriminating treatment. And for doing this I should not wait for the fellow Jews to join me in civil resistance, but would have confidence that in the end the rest were bound to follow my example. …

"But even if the Jewish mind could be prepared for voluntary suffering, even the massacre I have imagined could be turned into a day of thanksgiving and joy that Jehovah [God] had wrought deliverance of the race even at the hands of the tyrant. For to the God-fearing, death has no terror. It is a joyful sleep to be followed by a waking that would be all the more refreshing for the long sleep….

"The German Jew will score a lasting victory over the German gentiles in the sense that they will have converted the latter to an appreciation of human dignity."

Name: ____

Questions

1. Gandhi often stated that it took great courage to be a *satyagrahi*. Where in the documents do you find evidence to support his view?

2. Besides the personal danger that a *satyagrahi* might face, are there other concerns one should have while conducting a *satyagraha* campaign?

3. What did Gandhi mean by this statement, that the *satyagrahi* "…never forgets that he and the attacker are one"?

4. Why do you think that so many Indians supported Gandhi's *satyagraha* movement?

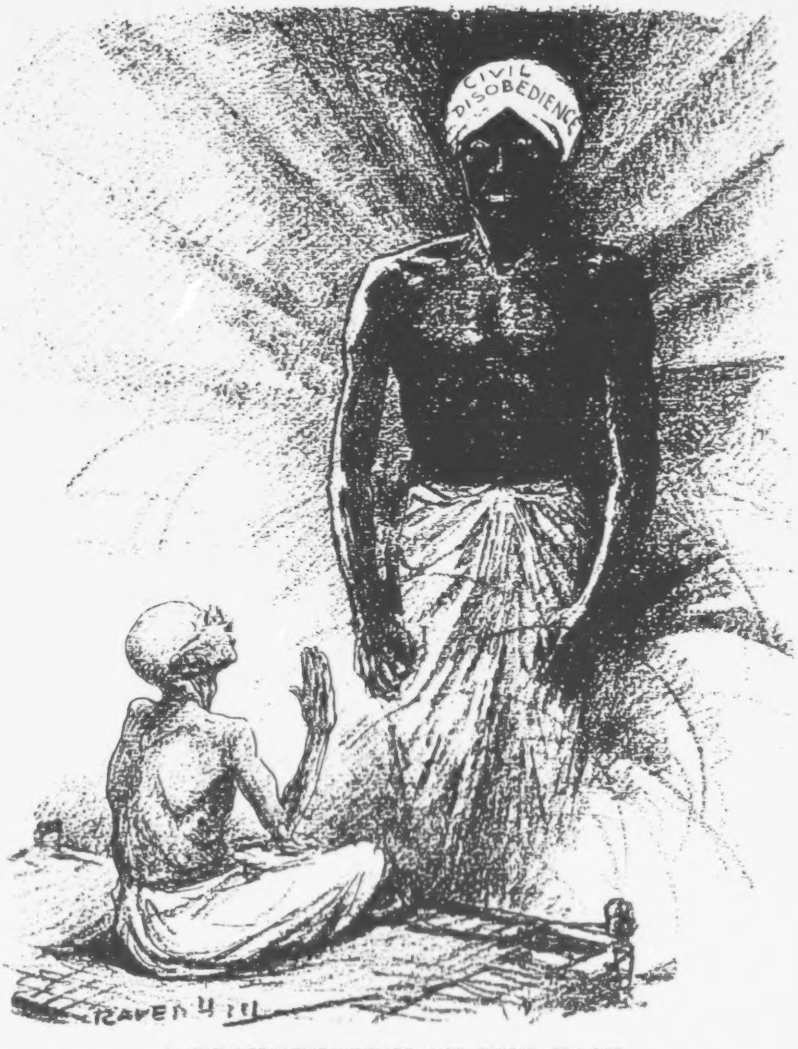
5. Which of the following statements is closest to your view of *satyagraha*?

a. I believe whole-heartedly in *satyagraha*. This type of civil disobedience based on moral force not only shows great courage, but it truly has the power to change the world for the better.

b. The effectiveness of *satyagraha* is relative, depending on the type of opponent you're facing. In some circumstances this tactic would be effective. In others it would be unwise and ineffective.

c. *Satyagraha* not only is foolish, it can be extremely dangerous. Trying to fight bullets with non-violence is only asking for trouble. The enemy won't be impressed but rather will think you a fool.

Explain your choice (for support, use information from this lesson, as well as other examples from history and/or current events).



A FRANKENSTEIN OF THE EAST.

GANDHI. "REMEMBER—NO VIOLENCE; JUST DISOBEDIENCE."
GENIE. "AND WHAT IF I DISOBEY *YOU*?"

A 1930 cartoon from the British magazine *Punch*.

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Name: ______________________________

Role Play Assignment

You are a member of the ...

___ Cabinet Mission

___ Congress Party

___ Muslim League

___ Unionist Party

___ Sikhs

Your assignment for your team is the following:

___ Chairperson – leader of your group. You always remain at "headquarters." You receive all other groups' negotiators and negotiate with them. You present your group's formal position.

___ Negotiator with the Cabinet Mission

___ Negotiator with the Congress Party

___ Negotiator with the Muslim League

___ Negotiator with the Unionist Party

___ Negotiator with the Sikhs

Each negotiator is assigned to deal with a different group. You go back and forth between "headquarters," consulting with the Chairperson and the group with whom you are negotiating.

Cabinet Mission Plans A and B—a summary

"Memorandum by Sir S. Cripps" (undated—probably April, 1946)

Plan A: A "Union of All-India" will be created, consisting of three parts—each of which will enjoy a great degree of regional and local autonomy.

The three parts will be the Hindu-majority provinces, the Muslim-majority provinces, and the Indian States (called "units").

The Union government will deal with, at a minimum, the following compulsory subjects: defense, foreign affairs, and communications. A broader list of optional subjects will be made available. These optional subjects belong to the individual units. Units may agree voluntarily to give up some of these optional subjects to the center [union government]. Or units may wish to pool their administration of optional subjects.

The Union government will consist of three equal parts representing the Hindu provinces, Muslim provinces, and the States.

Representatives of each group will first meet separately to create their provincial or state constitutions and any grouping of common subjects. Afterwards, the representatives of the three groups will meet together to decide the form of Union government and agree to a general constitution.

Because there will be equal representation in the Union, no one part could ever permanently dominate another part.

Plan B: Two countries will be formed from British India—Hindustan and Pakistan. Each Indian State may join either nation or remain independent.

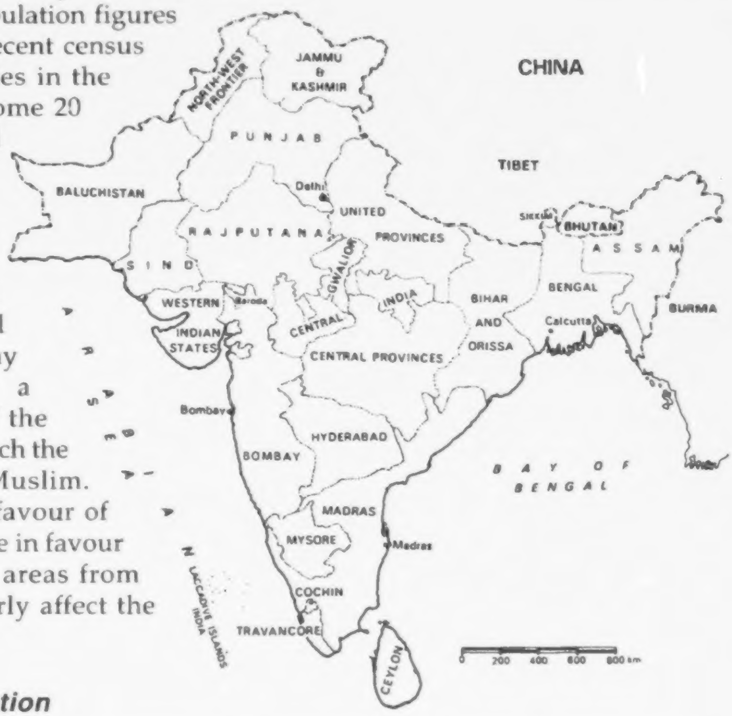
Pakistan will be based on the right of Muslim-majority districts to form a separate and independent state. While specifics need to be discussed further, generally Pakistan will consist of Sind, Baluchistan, and the North-West Frontier Province in the northwestern area. Punjab would be partitioned with the western part going to Pakistan and the eastern part to Hindustan. It is important that, if such partition is made, the Sikhs need to be considered. In the Northeast, Assam will be partitioned, as will Bengal (the west going to Hindustan and the east to Pakistan). Calcutta, with a majority Hindu population, seems necessary for an eastern Pakistan to survive. Its future will need to be negotiated.

Because splitting India into two nations will make defense against external aggression difficult, a treaty will be necessary. It will cover important economic matters, defense, and foreign policy. The treaty will need to include machinery for common planning and decision-making.

Cabinet Mission's Analysis of the "large" Pakistan that Jinnah Wanted

"The size of the non-Muslim minorities in a Pakistan comprising the whole of the six provinces...would be very considerable as the following figures show:— (All population figures in this statement are from the most recent census taken in 1941.) The Muslim minorities in the remainder of British India number some 20 million dispersed amongst a total population of 188 million.

"These figures show that the setting up of a separate sovereign state of Pakistan on the lines claimed by the Muslim League, would not solve the communal minority problem; nor can we see any justification for including within a soveriegn Pakistan those districts of the Punjab and of Bengal and Assam in which the population is predominantly non-Muslim. Every argument that can be used in favour of Pakistan, can equally in our view be use in favour of the exclusion of the non-Muslim areas from Pakistan. This point would particularly affect the position of the Sikhs."


NORTH-WEST FRONTIER
JAMMU & KASHMIR
CHINA
PUNJAB
TIBET
BALUCHISTAN
Delhi
UNITED PROVINCES
RAJPUTANA
Sikkim
BHUTAN
ASSAM
SIND
GWALIOR
CENTRAL INDIA
BIHAR AND ORISSA
BENGAL
BURMA
WESTERN INDIAN STATES
Baroda
Calcutta
CENTRAL PROVINCES
Bombay
HYDERABAD
BOMBAY
BAY OF BENGAL
MADRAS
MYSORE
Madras
LACCADIVE ISLANDS INDIA
COCHIN
TRAVANCORE
CEYLON
0 200 400 600 800 km

Muslim and Non-Muslim Population

North-Western Area			
		MUSLIM	NON-MUSLIM
	Punjab	16,217,242	12,201,577
	North-West Frontier	2,788,797	249,270
	Sind	3,208,325	1,326,683
	British Baluchistan	438,930	62,701
	total	22,653,284	13,840,231
		62.07 percent	37.93 percent
North-Eastern Area			
	Bengal	33,005,434	27,301,091
	Assam	3,442,479	6,762,254
	total	36,447,913	34,063,345
		51.69 percent	48.31 percent

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Agenda for the Conference to Determine the Future of India—March 1946

1. Statement by the Cabinet Mission—purpose of conference. Refer to Cabinet Mission Plans A & B, maps, and charts.

2. Statements by interested parties.

   a. Congress Party.

   b. Muslim League.

   c. Unionist Party.

   d. Sikhs.

3. Nature of the Constitution.

   a. Each group conducts a strategy session (refer to Roleplay Strategy Sheet, maps, and charts.

   b. Negotiations: Groups are to deal with the following issues:

      i. Is Plan A acceptable?
      ii. If Plan A is not acceptable, could it be modified to keep a united India?
      iii. If not, is Plan B acceptable (an independent Pakistan, but smaller than what the Muslim League had wanted)?
      iv. What will be the relationship between India (and perhaps Pakistan) and Great Britain?

   c. A representative of each group reports its progress to the Cabinet Mission.

4. Cabinet Mission reports results.

5. Adjournment.

Planning Strategy for the Roleplay
Nature of the Constitution

Based on the background readings, what is your group's position on the following?

1. Should an independent Pakistan be created? (What effect would an independent Pakistan have on your group?)

2. a. If a an independent Pakistan is created, how large should it be?

   b. It would be composed of what provinces/parts of provinces?

   c. Would the Cabinet Mission's Plan B be acceptable?

3. Study the document, "Cabinet Mission's Analysis of the 'large' Pakistan that Jinnah wanted." Why did the Cabinet Mission believe that giving what the Muslim League wanted—a larger Pakistan—wouldn't work?

4. What should an independent Pakistan's relationship be to India/Hindustan and Great Britain? (e.g., should there be a defense treaty? Should Pakistan and India/Hindustan be part of the British Commonwealth?)

5. a. If, instead of partition, there is a "Union of All-India" [federation], how would the Cabinet Mission's Plan A affect your group?

   b. If there is a federation, how much power should the central government have?

Role Playing: Organization and Preparation

Objectives:

Students will:

- Understand their own group's position regarding the Cabinet Mission's attempt to create an independent India.
- Analyze the issues in relation to the other four groups, understanding how and when alliances might be formed during negotiations.
- Work cooperatively within their group to create an effective bargaining position.
- Prepare an effective opening statement for the role-play.

Required Reading: Students should have read the materials that they received in the Roleplay Packet, as well as the information relating to their group in the student text.

Handouts:

- Students will utilize materials distributed to them in the Roleplay Packet.

In the Classroom:

1. *Reaching a Critical Juncture*—Review "March 1946: The Moment of Decision." Emphasize that while Great Britain was willing to grant independence to India, there was serious disagreement among Indians regarding what form that independence would take. Of special concern was the possibility that India might be partitioned, and, if Pakistan were created, what borders it would be granted.

2. *Planning for Group Work*—

a. Explain how the next day's role-play will work. Students have been assigned to one of five important political groups concerned with the future of India. The groups are to negotiate with one another to try to reach an agreement that will achieve Indian independence. Within each group are the following roles:

> i. Chairperson—leader of the group. Always stays at "headquarters." Receives all other groups' negotiators and negotiates with them. Presents group's formal position.
>
> ii. Negotiators—each negotiator is assigned to deal with a different group and goes back and forth between "headquarters" (consulting with Chairperson) and the group with whom he/she is negotiating.

b. Ask students to sit in their assigned groups (the role sheets they received yesterday will indicate their group and individual role).

c. Briefly review each group's position, as discussed in the student text. Explain that this section of the student text gives the group's position regarding India's independence, as well as offering quotes (primary sources) to support that opinion. Review the packet of information given as part of yesterday's homework assignment. Suggest how each document might be used during negotiations. The document entitled "Cabinet Mission Plans A and B" was used by the real Cabinet Mission to begin discussions with the various Indian groups. This document will form the basis for the class's negotiations tomorrow.

d. It is important to remind students that the Cabinet Mission is most interested in reaching an agreement that will let it leave India with dignity. As such, it needs to get both Congress and the Muslim League—by far the two most powerful political parties in India—to agree to any plan. Agreement of the Unionists and Sikhs, both from the Punjab, are not essential for reaching a national settlement.

3. *Preparing for Role Play*—Each group shall:
a. Complete its Role Play Strategy Sheet
b. Plan its strategy:

  i. What issues are most important?
  ii. Where is compromise possible?
  iii. What other groups are likely to be allies?

c. Draft a two-minute position paper, reflecting the group's position on India's independence and the question of partition. Refer to the "From the Record" section of your group's position. The Chairperson will read this statement at the opening of the roleplay.

Homework: Students should complete preparations for the simulation.

Role Playing the Five Positions

Objectives:

Students will:

- Represent one important political group during the Cabinet Mission of 1946, by expressing the group's beliefs and positions on various questions regarding the Indian independence.
- Identify key issues.
- Identify political allies and work with them to attempt to reach a satisfactory agreement.
- Develop skills of public speaking, active listening, and negotiation.

Handouts:

- Students are to use Roleplay Packet which they received on Day 2.

In the Classroom:

1. *Setting the Stage* —Organize the room so that each group sits together in a tight circle. This is the group's "headquarters." The teacher should be the front of the room to help the role-play begin.

2. *Managing the Simulation*—

a. The teacher reviews the purpose of the role-play. Each group must decide whether it prefers Plan A or Plan B or if it has an alternative idea. Remind students that the Cabinet Mission wants a settlement so that the British can leave India with dignity. Agreement of Congress and the Muslim League to any plan is essential. Unionist and Sikh opinion is not as important.

b. The teacher previews the agenda (TRB-22) and allows time for each group to conduct a strategy session, to prepare for negotiations.

c. The Chairperson of the Cabinet Mission opens the conference by giving a brief statement of his/her group's position on key issues.

d. The agenda proceeds with other chairpersons making their statements.

e. Negotiations begin. Remind students that each group's chairperson must remain at "headquarters"and that negotiators must only go between "headquarters" and to the group they have been assigned for negotiations.

f. The teacher should move about the room to trouble-shoot any problems.

g. Agreements reached between Congress and the Muslim League should be reported to the Cabinet Mission. Unionists and Sikhs should also report any agreements. A settlement is considered to be reached if agreed upon by the Cabinet Mission, Congress, and the Muslim League.

h. After negotiations are completed, the Chairperson of the Cabinet Mission reports any results.

Homework:

Students should read the "Epilogue" in the student text (pages 35-41) (and complete the "Study Guide – Epilogue"(TRB 28-29) or "Advanced Study Guide—Epilogue"(TRB-30).

Epilogue: Partition and Beyond

Objectives:

Students will:

- Understand why India was partitioned.
- Analyze the violence that acompanied partition.
- Examine the problems that India has faced since partition.
- Examine the problems that Pakistan has faced since partition.
- Speculate on the future relationship of India and Pakistan, especially regarding their conflict over Kashmir.

Required Reading:

Students should have read the "Epilogue" in the student text (pages 35-41) and completed the "Study Guide – Epilogue" (TRB-28-29) or "Advanced Study Guide – Epilogue"(TRB-30).

Handouts:

- "Partition Through Literature: 'Toba Tek Singh'"

In the Classroom:

1. *Reviewing the simulation*—Review the results of the role play. Have students reflect on why the real participants in the Cabinet Mission discussions did not reach an agreement on India's independence. Why was partition the ultimate decision? Could anything been said to the parties to bring them to agreement?

2. *Analyzing the violence*—

a. Discuss the acts of violence mentioned in the "Epilogue." Examine the different types of violence, which included communal attacks, gangster violence, and intra-religious murders (such as the assassination of Gandhi).

b. Have students read and answer questions to the selection, "Partition Through Literature: 'Toba Tek Singh." How does this story help to illustrate the horrors of partition in the Punjab?

c. Ask students to speculate why so much violence accompanied partition.

3. *Predicting the future*—

a. Review the problems both India and Pakistan have faced since their independence.

b. Speculate on these problems. Are they likely to improve or worsen over time?

c. Reflect on the question of partition. Would British India have been better off receiving independence without partition and, therefore, without Pakistan?

Name:

Study Guide—Epilogue

1. What happened as a result of Direct Action Day?

2. After both the Congress Party and the Muslim League refused to accept the Cabinet Mission Plan, what did Viceroy Mountbatten decide to do?

3. What happened in the Punjab as a result of partition?

4. What were some major problems that Jawaharlal Nehru faced as India's first prime minister?

5. What did Indira Gandhi do after a court declared that her previous election had been illegally managed by a government employee?

6. How was the death of Indira Gandhi similar to that of Mohandas Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi?

7. What are some examples of India's economic insecurity in the 1990s?

8. What were some early problems that Pakistan faced?

9. Instead of democracy, what has been the usual form of government in Pakistan?

10. What happened to East Pakistan after it revolted in 1971?

11. What are some religious issues that Pakistan has had to face?

12. Why should other nations, including the United States, be concerned if India and Pakistan go to war? Explain.

Name:

Advanced Study Guide—Epilogue

1. Why was there so much violence between Hindus and Muslims in 1946 and 1947?

2. In general, did India benefit from the leadership of Indira Gandhi?

3. In what ways has India, which considers itself a secular nation, been plagued by religious problems?

4. Historically, what, in your opinion, have been Pakistan's three greatest problems?

5. Describe what you think the relationship between India and Pakistan will be fifty years from now.

Partition Through Literature: "Toba Tek Singh"

The incredible suffering that partition caused in some areas through exchanges of population has become a favorite topic for Indian, Pakistani, and Sikh writers. Dealing in various ways with the human tragedy endured by people on both sides of this newly created border, these writers, argues Alok Bhalla (editor of one major collection of these stories), share a theme. "There is a single, common note which informs nearly all the stories written about the Partition and the horror it unleashed, a note of utter bewilderment." One of the best, and perhaps most famous, partition story clearly reveals this sense of bewilderment. "Toba Tek Singh" was written in Urdu, Pakistan's national language, by Sadat Hasan Manto, a Kashmiri who left his home in January 1948 and moved to Karachi, Pakistan's capital. The story recounts the effects of partition on a very particular portion of the population. Exerpts are in italics. It begins …

"A couple of years after the Partition of the country, it occurred to the respective governments of India and Pakistan that inmates of lunatic asylums, like prisoners, should also be exchanged. Muslim lunatics in India should be transferred to Pakistan and Hindu and Sikh lunatics in Pakistani asylums should be sent to India."

One such asylum was located in Lahore, in what became Pakistan. Upon learning of this decision, the inmates could not comprehend its meaning:

"As to where Pakistan was located, the inmates knew nothing. That was why both the mad and the partially mad were unable to decide whether they were now in India or in Pakistan. If they were in India, where on earth was Pakistan? And if they were in Pakistan, then how come that until only the other day it was India?

"One inmate had got so badly caught up in this India-Pakistan-Pakistan-India rigmarole that one day, while sweeping the floor, he dropped everything, climbed the nearest tree and installed himself on a branch, from which vantage point he spoke for two hours on the delicate problem of India and Pakistan. The guards asked him to get down; instead he went to a branch higher, and when threatened with punishment, declared, 'I wish to live neither in India nor in Pakistan. I wish to live in this tree.'"

The protagonist of the story is a Sikh inmate named Bishan Singh who, fifteen years earlier, had gone mad and was committed by his family. Everyone in the asylum calls him Toba Tek Singh, the name of his village. Almost bald, his legs swollen because he seemed to be standing all the time, he also has the habit of speaking this nonsensical phrase, *"Uper the gur gur the annexe the bay dhayana the mung the dal of the laltain."*

Family members, who used to visit him, now no longer come. He repeatedly asks his fellow inmates whether Toba Tek Singh, his old town, is in India or Pakistan, but nobody seems to know. One day Fazal Din, an old Muslim friend from his village, visits Bishan Singh, who doesn't recognize the man. Fazal Din brings word that Singh's family has safely gone to India. Fazal Din speaks of the water buffalos left behind and the calves they have produced.

Singh asks him, *"Where is Toba Tek Singh?"* To which his old friend replies, *"In India … no, in Pakistan." "Without saying another word, Bishan Singh walks away, murmuring, 'Uper the gur gur the annexe the be dhyana the mung the dal of the Pakistan and Hindustan dur fittey moun.'"*

The transfer of inmates takes place on a cold winter evening. Hindu and Sikh lunatics are placed on buses and taken to the border. When Bishan Singh steps from the bus and is asked to register, he asks the official, *"Where is Toba Tek Singh? In India or Pakistan?"* The official tells him it is in Pakistan, the place Singh is leaving.

"Bishan Singh tried to run, but was overpowered by the Pakistani guards who tried to push him across the dividing line towards India. However, he wouldn't move."

The story concludes as follows:

"'This is Toba Tek Singh,' he announced. 'Uper the gur gur the annexe the be dhyana mung the dal of Toba Tek Singh and Pakistan.'

"Many efforts were made to explain to him that Toba Tek Singh had already been moved to India, or would be moved immediately, but it had no effect on Bishan Singh. The guards even tried force, but soon gave up.

"There he stood in no man's land on his swollen legs like a colossus.

"Since he was a harmless old man, no further attempt was made to push him into India. He was allowed to stand where he wanted, while the exchange continued. The night wore on.

"Just before sunrise, Bishan Singh, the man who had stood on his legs for fifteen years, screamed and as the officials from the two sides rushed towards him, he collapsed to the ground.

"There, behind barbed wire, on one side, lay India and behind more barbed wire, on the other side, lay Pakistan. In between, on a bit of earth which had no name, lay Toba Tek Singh."

Questions

1. What political event has upset the inmates of the lunatic asylum?

2. What about this event seems to have made Bishan Singh especially frustrated?

3. At the end of the story, how does Bishan Singh try to resolve this frustration? Is he successful? Explain.

4. The nonsense phrase, which Bishan Singh utters from time to time, changes during the course of the story. Why do you think it changes (what is the significance of the words that are changed)?

Key Terms

Part I: India's Early History

Sanskrit
Vedism
jizya
Hinduism
Islam / Muslim
bhakti
Sikh
subcontinent
sepoy
mutiny

Part II: From Reform to Independence

reform
viceroy
separate electorates
autonomy
swadeshi
swaraj
satyagraha
communal
coalition

Epilogue: Partition and Beyond

interim government
partition
dominion
secularism
sanctions
fundamentalists

Key Issues Toolbox

Imperialism: The policy of extending the rule of a nation over foreign countries as well as acquiring colonies and dependencies. Imperialism has traditionally involved power and the use of coercion, whether military force or some other form. Supporters of imperialist policy traditionally used one of several arguments. One argument was economic; imperialism was profitable. A second school of thought drew on Darwinian theory and suggested that there was a struggle between nations and people in which only the fittest would survive. They believed that the Anglo-Saxon race and northern Europeans were best suited to spread their religious, cultural, and civic values throughout the world. A third argument was based on security issues; a nation could protect itself by acquiring territory and wealth around the world. The fourth argument was often religious or moral; indigenous people could be given a better life. All four arguments can be found in Great Britain's rule over India.

Self-determination: The right of a people to govern their own affairs. Widely accepted today, this was a radical notion at the beginning of the twentieth century, when India's independence movement was just beginning. While the British government emphasized reform and gradual self-government within the British Empire, Indian nationalists agreed amongst themselves on the goal of independence but differed in their tactics regarding how to achieve it. For most of his political career, Mohammed Ali Jinnah stressed constitutional methods, while Gandhi utilized non-violent forms of resistance, including civil disobedience. Still others resorted to violence.

Communalism: Of or pertaining to a religious community. While in some parts of India, communalism can refer to different Hindu *castes*, as used in this unit, the term refers to Hindu, Muslim, and Sikh communities. While, officially, the Congress Party refused to think in communal terms (Gandhi insisting that Muslims and Hindus were one people), the Muslim League, advocating a two nation theory, argued that Hindus and Muslims comprised distinct nations and that communal violence would only worsen if they remained within the same country.

Satyagraha: Civil disobedience characterized by non-violent non-cooperation. According to Gandhi, satyagraha meant "holding to the truth" and inspired believers to risk their lives without resorting even to violent words. Under Gandhi's leadership, *satyagraha* created a mass political movement and caused much of the world, including many British, to sympathize with India's struggle for independence. Gandhi led three major *satyagraha* campaigns against the British; however, despite his warnings, all three campaigns witnessed acts of violence. One of the reasons Jinnah broke with Gandhi in the early 1920s was the latter's rejection of constitutional reform in favor of civil disobedience and an appeal to the masses.

Partition: The process of dividing a territory into two parts or more. As advocated by nineteenth century nationalists, national boundaries should be coterminous with ethnic groups. Historian T.G. Fraser refers to partition as a "problem-solving device," and, indeed, the British resorted to partition to settle conflicts in Ireland, India, and Palestine (this last one through a United Nations resolution). All three of the above examples utilized, to some extent, communal aspirations (e.g., many Muslims did want a Pakistan separated from India). However, the same cannot be said for other, post-World War II partitions in Germany, Korea, and Vietnam.

Making Choices Work in Your Classroom

This section of the Teacher's Resource Book offers suggestions for teachers as they adapt Choices curricula to their classrooms. They are drawn from the experiences of teachers who have used Choices curricula successfully in their classrooms and from educational research on student-centered instruction .

Managing the Choices Simulation

Recognize Time Limitations: At the heart of the Choices approach is the role-play simulation in which students advocate different options, question each other, and debate. Just as thoughtful preparation is necessary to set the stage for cooperative group learning, careful planning for the presentations and debate can increase the effectiveness of the simulation. Time is the essential ingredient to keep in mind. A minimum of 45 to 50 minutes is necessary for the presentations and debate. Hence, if only one class period is available, student groups must be ready as soon as class begins. Teachers who have been able to schedule a double period or extend the length of class to one hour report that the extra time is beneficial. When necessary, the role-play simulation can be run over two days, but this disrupts the momentum of the debate. The best strategy for managing the role-play is to establish and enforce strict time limits, such as five minutes for each option presentation, ten minutes for questions and challenges, and the final five minutes of class for wrapping up the debate. It is crucial to make students aware of strict time limits as they prepare their presentations.

Highlight the Importance of Values: During the debate and debriefing, it is important to highlight the role of values in the options. Students should be instructed to identify the core values and priorities underlying the different options. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet is designed to help students incorporate the values into their group presentations. You may also find the supplemental activity, *Considering the Role of Values in Public Policy*, available from the "Faculty Room" on the Choices web site <www.choices.edu> helpful.

Moving Beyond the Options

As a culminating activity of a Choices unit, students are expected to articulate their own views of the issue under consideration. An effective way to move beyond the options debate to creating individual options is to have students consider which values in the options framework they hold most dear. Typically, students will hold several of these values simultaneously and will need to prioritize them to reach a considered judgment about the issue at hand. These values should be reflected in their own options and should shape the goals and policies they advocate.

Adjusting for Large and Small Classes

Choices units are designed for an average class of twenty-five students. In larger classes, additional roles, such as those of newspaper reporter or member of a special interest group, can be assigned to increase student participation in the simulation. With larger option groups, additional tasks might be to create a poster, political cartoon, or public service announcement that represents the viewpoint of an option. In smaller classes, the teacher can serve as the moderator of the debate, and administrators, parents, or faculty can be invited to play the roles of congressional leaders. Another option is to combine two small classes.

Assessing Student Achievement

Grading Group Assignments: Research suggests that it is counterproductive to give students individual grades on cooperative group assignments. A significant part of the assignment given to the group is to cooperate in achieving a common goal, as opposed to looking out for individual interests. Telling students in advance that the group will receive one grade often motivates group members to hold each other accountable. This can foster group cohesion and lead to better group results. It may be useful to note that in addition to the cooperative group assignments, students complete individual assignments as well in every Choices unit. The "Assessment Guide for Oral Presentations" on the following page is designed to help teachers evaluate group presentations.

Requiring Self-Evaluation: Having students complete self-evaluations is an extremely effective way to make them think about their own learning. Self-evaluations can take many forms and are useful in a variety of circumstances. They are particularly helpful in getting students to think constructively about group collaboration. In developing a self-evaluation tool for students, teachers need to pose clear and direct questions to students. Two key benefits of student self-evaluation are that it involves students in the assessment process, and that it provides teachers with valuable insights into the contributions of individual students and the dynamics of different groups. These insights can help teachers to organize groups for future cooperative assignments.

Evaluating Student Options: The most important outcomes of a Choices unit are the original options developed and articulated by each student. These will differ significantly from one another, as students identify different values and priorities that shape their viewpoints. These options cannot be graded as right or wrong, but should be evaluated on clarity of expression, logic, and thoroughness. Did the student provide reasons for his/her viewpoint along with supporting evidence? Were the values clear and consistent throughout the option? Did the student identify the risks involved? Did the student present his/her option in a convincing manner?

Testing: In a formal evaluation of the Choices approach, it was demonstrated that students using Choices learned the factual information presented as well as or better than students who were taught in a more traditional lecture-discussion format. However, the larger benefits of the Choices approach were evident when students using Choices demonstrated significantly higher ability to think critically, analyze multiple perspectives, and articulate original viewpoints, compared to students who did not use this approach. Teachers should hold students accountable for learning historical information, concepts, and current events presented in Choices units. However, a simple multiple-choice examination will not allow students to demonstrate the critical thinking and communication skills developed through the Choices unit. If teachers choose to test students, they may wish to explore new models of test design that require students to do more than recognize correct answers. Tests should not replace the development of student options.

For Further Reading: Cohen, Elizabeth G. *Designing Groupwork: Strategies for the Heterogeneous Classroom* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1986).

Name: ____________________

Assessment Guide for Oral Presentations

Group assignment: ____________________

Group members: ____________________

____

Group Assessment	*Excellent*	*Good*	*Average*	*Needs Improvement*	*Unsatisfactory*
1. The group made good use of its preparation time	5	4	3	2	1
2. The presentation reflected analysis of the issues under consideration	5	4	3	2	1
3. The presentation was coherent and persuasive	5	4	3	2	1
4. The group incorporated relevant sections of the background reading into its presentation	5	4	3	2	1
5. The group's presenters spoke clearly, maintained eye contact, and made an effort to hold the attention of their audience	5	4	3	2	1
6. The presentation incorporated contributions from all the members of the group	5	4	3	2	1
Individual Assessment					
1. The student cooperated with other group members	5	4	3	2	1
2. The student was well-prepared to meet his or her responsibilities	5	4	3	2	1
3. The student made a significant contribution to the group's presentation	5	4	3	2	1

Alternative Three-Day Lesson Plan

Day 1: See Day Two of the Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan. (Students should have read Part II of the background reading and completed "Study Guide — Part II" before beginning the unit.)

Homework: Students should read "March 1946: The Moment of Decision."

Day 2: Assign each student one of the five positions, and allow students a few minutes to familiarize themselves with the mindsets of the positions. Call on students to evaluate the benefits and trade-offs of their assigned positions. How do the positions differ? What are their assumptions about the future? How do they view the advantages and disadvantages of partition? Moving beyond their assigned positions, students should imagine that they are involved in a town meeting convened in the early summer of 1946 to assess the future of British India. What position would they argue for? What factors would most influence their position? What values would have the greatest appeal?

Homework: Students should read "Epilogue: Partition and Beyond" and complete "Study Guide — Epilogue."

Day 3: See Day Five of the Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan.

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